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Backstage, Offstage, Underground: (Folkloric) Musicians' Invisible Work in Neoliberal Argentina

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Backstage, Offstage, Underground: (Folkloric) Musicians' Invisible Work in Neoliberal Argentina

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Dedication

To my mother, whose interminable emotional support, cheerleading, and faith in me made this project possible. I love you.

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Abstract

Backstage, Offstage, Underground: (Folkloric) Musicians' Invisible Work in Neoliberal Argentina

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Social scientists have widely studied the effects of neoliberalism on social and economic life in the 21st century, and most agree that the precariousness of many job sectors has increased as a result. However, although many scholars allude to workers' perilous conditions, few explore the processes that create precarity. What is needed are suggestions for systemic change that lead to greater protection and fair compensation for vulnerable populations. This dissertation argues that an analysis of musicians' invisible work exposes neoliberalism's narrowing effect on what activities employers and policymakers consider worthy of financial remuneration. A study of music making is ideally situated to uncover the socially constructed invisibilization of particular people and modalities of work, especially due to the varied activities musicians take part in across the (in)visibility spectrum. Musicians engage in hypervisible performances in front of thousands of people, though the audience often fails to see their backstage and offstage working processes which contribute importantly to the final event. I propose four categories of invisible work—undisclosed, unpaid, undervalued, and unrecognized—to theorize processes of invisibilization in a neoliberal era. My findings suggest that musicians engage in increasing numbers of activities such as marketing, venue hosting, and social activism without compensation due to the normalization of neoliberal economic and social ideologies. Using ethnographic data collected between 2017-2020, I show how *música popular* musicians in Mendoza, Argentina engage in a wide spectrum of (in)visible work. Revealing such efforts can ultimately lead to a new valuation of their roles in social, economic, and political life.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"Yo estoy aquí, aunque no me veas,	I am here, even if you do not see me,
Vengo de pujar la vida entera.	I come from struggling my entire life.
Yo estoy aquí, camino esperanza,	I am here, hopeful path,
Vengo de parir cuando no alcanza.	I come from giving light when there is not enough.
Vengo de dejar sueños sin cumplir	I come from leaving dreams unfulfilled
Para que los sueños tuyos sean;	So that yours can be;
Vengo de invocar todo sobre ti	I come from invoking everything about you
Para que la vida te sea buena."	So that life is good for you.

Next to the lyrics of Cecilia Concha-Laborde's song, "Aunque no me veas" (Even If You Do Not See Me) in *Mujer Trova's*[1] 2018 songbook, she writes, "for all who suffer the violence of being invisibilized, because the most rebellious gesture is, in spite of everything, 'to exist,' to feel a part of history and to say with strength: Even if you do not see me…I am here!"[2] [ellipsis in original]. Concha-Laborde's words encapsulate the aim of this dissertation: to make visible the increasingly hidden work of economic actors in a neoliberal era.

Social scientists maintain that the postindustrial, information age in which we live has caused a shift in work patterns. The neoliberal ethos that now pervades everyday life in many regions across the globe valorizes entrepreneurship, part-time employment, and contractual hires. These trends consequently create a normalized work environment characterized by privatization, fragmentation, and precarious economic conditions.

[1] *Mujer Trova* is an all-female collective of singer-songwriters. The Buenos Aires-based organization consists primarily of Argentine artists, though the organization also inducts several female singer-songwriters from other Latin American countries. Concha-Laborde comes from Chile.

[2] "Para todos los que sufren la violencia de ser invisibilizados, porque el gesto mayor de rebeldía es a pesar de todo 'existir,' sentirse parte de la historia y decir con fuerza: Aunque no me veas…estoy aquí!"

Another effect of this transformation includes an increase in what Poster, Crain, and Cherry characterize as "invisible labor": activities "that workers perform in response to requirements (either implicit or explicit) from employers and that are crucial for workers to generate income…yet are often overlooked, ignored, and/or devalued by employers, consumers, workers, and ultimately the legal system itself" (2016:6). For example, flight attendants engage in aesthetic work to present the 'right look' on the job, and their efforts related to achieving that result begin much earlier than the official start of a shift. I refer to this concept as invisible work rather than labor, following Hannah Arendt's distinction between laborious efforts exerted by bodies for sustenance versus work exerted by hands and minds for reasons beyond sustenance alone, as discussed below (1998:84). Scholars have revealed manifestations of invisible work in a multitude of settings, including at strikes (McBride, Stirling, and Winter 2013), internet-related work, in restaurants, retail stores (Poster, Crain, and Cherry 2016), home healthcare (Whitman 2016), and the agriculture industry (Lyon 2015). About music specifically, ethnomusicologists have published on the affective work of performers (Tatro 2014; Hofman 2015), a modality that often goes unnoticed because of its lack of a tangible product. For example, Hofman explains that affective work such as "using eye contact, smiling and other bodily actions, especially dancing" of *kafana* performers allow them to receive more attention, and ultimately more tips, from male patrons (36). Though they are first and foremost musicians, kafana performance involves intangible, affective work to ensure financial success. I consider affective musical work as one form of invisible work, but I suggest that musicians

engage in a wide variety of extra-musical hidden efforts. In some cases, the musicians also hide others' labor, as I suggest later.

In this dissertation, I analyze the lived experiences of *música popular* musicians to reveal the many forms of work that manifest off and around the performance stage in a neoliberal context. I argue that multiple aspects of musicians' work remain hidden from particular audiences. In other words, social and economic neoliberal values increase the ways and frequency in which musicians, and workers more generally, engage in invisible work. This increase is important for several reasons. Because of its imperceptible nature, invisible and exploitative work often go hand in hand. When consumers, employers, or employees do not clearly identify the efforts of musicians as work, a managerial actor[3] can more easily and inconspicuously take advantage of their time and energy. Identifying and monitoring the increase in 'unseen' exploitative demands in the workforce help us to understand their potential to change social relations on a broader scale. As Poster, Crain, and Cherry explain, "invisibility is socially constructed, just like visibility. Ironically, in fact, there are many overt tasks that go into making particular kinds of work invisible" (2016: 9). Examples include invisibilizing farm labor from commercials about fresh fruit (16) and scheduling custodial staff after normal business hours (19). Identifying invisible work thus provides a better understanding of how and why certain efforts lead to constructed invisibilities, and ultimately how neoliberal values change conceptions of work, leisure, social responsibility, and communication. This is important because

[3] I use managerial actor broadly in this sense to describe both people in positions of power and the technologies used by such people, including legal and economic policies.

neoliberalism influences broader social transformations of work and labor in ways that are often exploitative and unregulated, making expectations for work rise, while working conditions fall.

Musicians are uniquely situated for a study on invisible work. Poster, Crain, and Cherry suggest that there exists a spectrum of such activity, ranging from the "absent and disappeared" to the "hypervisible" (2016: 10). Because of music's multifaceted role in human life as described by Turino (2008) and others, music-making work appears across the (in)visibility spectrum. While their bodies appear hypervisible on stage, musicians' affective work as part of their performance may be less apparent. Audiences may recognize the work immediately associated with a musician playing in a coffee shop, but they may not realize the marketing and reputation-building work in which musicians engage in order for the coffee shop owners to offer a contract. Likewise, audiences often undervalue or do not realize the extent of musicians' work activities in order to perform publicly, involving practice sessions, instrument repair and maintenance, negotiating contracts, travel, carrying equipment, learning new repertoire for particular shows, and also physical preparation like building calluses and endurance. Invisible work more easily blurs the lines between leisure and work, something with which musicians deal regularly when invited to play at venues where hosts compensate them only with 'experience' or a meal. Lastly, musicians of all social classes engage in invisible work. While the efforts of some mainstream pop stars might look slightly different when they outsource parts of it to others, they engage in similar tasks. Work related to the body (instrumental or vocal practice) and affect (engaging audiences and communicating emotions) still largely fall to the musician

regardless of their social status or level of fame. For these reasons, musical performance serves as an ideal realm of economic and social life to examine in order to better understand the varied manifestations of invisible work in a neoliberal era.

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, AND DEFINITIONS

Liberalism vs. Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism departs from classic liberalism because of neoliberalism's added emphasis on a globalized economy and its economic management of financial institutions. Often considered the founder of economic liberalism, Adam Smith (1776) advocated for free trade as a self-regulating mechanism of economic balance. Developing out of European liberalism in which followers argued that "individuals had the capacity to reason and were therefore best able to express and pursue their own interests without the intervention of absolute monarchs, aristocrats or priests," economic liberals favored "individual sovereignty, self-interest rationality, private property rights, [and a] self-regulating market" (Holton 1992: 52, 54). The financial crisis of the 1930s spurred unpredictable employment situations for many families, which led to many saving any expendable income for future needs. John Keynes advocated for increased government spending and social welfare protections in order to spur economic spending by the people, thus departing from economic liberal ideals. However, Milton Friedman (1960) and his contemporaries argued that states were actually inhibiting spending, because people were paying higher taxes, and this did not afford them additional spending money (Adams 2012: 1072-5). Thus, the United States and Britain imposed policies in the 1980s to scale back

social welfare and other high-tax required programs in order to stimulate free market spending.

While economic liberals of the past strove for a laissez-faire policy, neoliberals advocate for the regulation of financial institutions as needed to maintain a free market. Multi-national financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Development Bank, and the World Trade Organization have become avid supporters of neoliberal policies and globalized markets. They promote government intervention, but only to the extent of keeping the free market strong, such as by adjusting interest rates to attract investors (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009: 146). The IMF approach problematically assumes that free market approaches will work everywhere, regardless of the previous politico-economic system in place. Harvey argues that another goal of this version of economic neoliberalism includes restoring class power by allowing upper classes to monopolize the market through corporate tax cuts, and consequently, increasing social inequality (2005: 26). Argentina accepted a 56-billion-dollar loan from the IMF in 2018, forcing former President Mauricio Macri to abide by their structural adjustment programs. The Argentine peso lost over half of its value during this time due to rising inflation, making everyday expenses for working and lower-middle classes a burden. On an international scale, IMF programs also create grave inequality between the Global South and North, as the US dollar has a strengthened purchasing power in Argentina and other

countries like Jamaica,[4] where the IMF's loans and subsequent economic programs have spurred uncontrollable inflation.

Neoliberalism and Governmentality

Scholars and political theorists use neoliberalism to reference a variety of different social and economic processes including rationalities, ideologies, market reform, and political strategies. Compounded with the fact that such authors seldomly clearly define the term neoliberalism (Boas and Gans-Morse 2009), their multifaceted uses of it suggest differing viewpoints on its relation to both markets and society. Flew (2014) outlines two general conceptions of neoliberalism from which I draw in this project. The first follows a Marxist theory of capitalism and envisions neoliberalism as an economic strategy that prioritizes free markets, as described above. The second approach draws from Foucault and describes neoliberalism as a social ideology maintained through networks of regulation. The *homo economicus*[5] is at the center of this epistemology.

Dardot and Laval suggest that neoliberalism[6] involves much more than economic reforms and instead represents a new ideology in social life which emphasizes

[4] See Stephanie Black's documentary *Life and Debt* (2001) for an overview of the IMF and IDB's role in Jamaica's progressively worsening economy.

[5] The *homo economicus,* or "economic man," describes a financially-rational person who maximizes profit. There is a shift in meaning of the term with the rise of neoliberalism, which Foucault outlines: "The characteristic feature of the classical conception of *homo economicus* is the partner of exchange and the theory of utility based on a problematic of needs. In neo-liberalism—and it does not hide this; it proclaims it—there is also a theory of *homo economicus*, but he is not at all a partner of exchange. *Homo economicus* is an entrepreneur, an entrepreneur of himself" (2008: 225-26). For another neoliberal application of *homo economicus* vis-à-vis Foucault, as I use it in this project, see Fridman 2010.

[6] Foucault and many of his followers use the term "advanced liberalism" rather than neoliberalism in their publications, but I use neoliberalism throughout for questions of consistency.

individualism, freedom to make choices, and a personal quest for happiness (2014). Privatization, a common neoliberal political strategy, exposes smaller institutions more directly to market forces. Without the state's protectionary measures, neoliberal policy places additional financial responsibility and risk in the hands of smaller groups and ultimately the individual. The state's role in the perceived model is simply "to make the market possible" (Foucault 2008: 146). However, in reality, state authorities use new strategies in order to maintain involvement. In Argentina, this has taken various forms including law modification (see Chapter 3), policymaking (see Chapter 4), and strategic budgeting to encourage spending in particular private sectors such as tourism (see Chapter 5).

Followers of Foucault's theory of governmentality suggest that neoliberalism consists of a much larger project of social control. According to Foucault, government is "an activity that undertakes to conduct individuals throughout their lives by placing them under the authority of a guide responsible for what they do and for what happens to them" (1997: 68). As Rose, O'Malley, and Valverde explain, Foucault describes liberalism as "an art of governing that arises as a critique of excessive government—a search for a technology of government that can address the recurrent complaint that authorities are governing too much" (2006: 84). Thus, neoliberalism does not necessarily involve less management, but it relies more heavily on governing "at a distance" in order to give the impression that the state is less involved (Miller and Rose 1990: 9). The state regulates the rules of the market through policies, strategies, and rationalities so that it continues to thrive, but the real players of the game are business leaders and citizens who enter into the

market by necessity. As a result, the government spends less on social protections and emphasizes that each individual must take responsibility for his or her own economic risk. Foucault emphasizes that neoliberalism does not primarily incite the public to purchase material goods, but rather it drives them to market their skills and become their own strategists, accepting financial decisions and risks as personal responsibilities (2008: 147). Theorists suggest we should not conceive of governmental authority as a centralized force, but instead as networks of forces that interact on institutional and individual scales. To this end, various strategies emerge to manage populations through technologies such as insurance, social work, and family allowances (Rose, O'Malley, and Valverde 2006: 88). These new securities allow individuals to take more risk as entrepreneurs by providing a minimal cushioning if they fail. Rose suggests one effect of the neoliberal era includes an "extension of rationalities and technologies of markets to previously exempt zones such as health and education," which, "appeared to enhance the autonomy of zones, persons, entities, but enwrapped them in new forms of regulation—audits, budgets, standards, risk management, targets, shadow of the law, etc." (Miller and Rose 2008: 18). Such a system, Rose argues, requires a new conception of individuals as "autonomous and responsible…freely choosing how to behave and act" (18).

The new neoliberal approach of governing at a distance necessarily limits the usefulness of macro-economic trend analysis and instead encourages closer attention to private businesses and individuals as competitive enterprises. Rose explains that an individual's exposure to competition in the market merges one's personal and professional endeavors. The individual does not only become an entrepreneur during the 40-hour work

week, but she is constantly striving to better herself and keep up with the competition. She sees her life as an enterprise and must do whatever it takes to succeed, both financially and emotionally. The desire to find fulfillment, freedom, and happiness in all aspects of one's life is thus a principal effect of neoliberal policies (Rose 1996: 59). In reality, many authors have shown that the economic precariousness associated with neoliberalism creates feelings of stress, social exclusion, and detachment from civil life (Dardot and Laval 2014; Tschöll 2014; Kelly and Pike 2017; Breman et. al 2019). As Brown rightly explains, neoliberalism involves, "a range of monetary and social policies favorable to business and indifferent toward poverty, social deracination, cultural decimation, long term resource depletion and environmental destruction" (2003:1). As a result, when individuals believe that they have the freedom to improve their own lives, that everyone enters the marketplace on an even footing, and that hard work is the key to success and happiness, they may overlook or fail to see systemic racialized and gendered oppression by claiming it does not exist. Neoliberal values thus often exacerbate social inequalities, in addition to prioritizing business over the environment. Chapters 3 and 4 reflect on these issues in Argentina.

Approaches to neoliberalism as either an economic strategy or a broader governance theory carry social consequences, and while many scholars conceive of the two as separate constructs, I argue that they are not mutually exclusive. I consider both together in order to understand the economic, political, and social processes at play between them. Scholars have critiqued the conception of neoliberalism as an economic strategy for its tendency "to attribute multiple phenomena, from reality TV shows to university restructurings to free trade agreements and the conduct of monetary policy, to a single

causal [economic] factor" (Flew 2014: 58). By contrast, Foucault's approach considers a much broader scope of actors. While Harvey and other economists focus on who controls financial power and what their agendas look like, those influenced by Foucault consider how techniques of governmentality have changed with the advent of neoliberalism and what effects such changes have on society more broadly (Flew 2014: 61). In this dissertation, I consider neoliberalism as a politico-economic strategy led predominantly by the IMF and state governments. Simultaneously, I conceive of neoliberal society and neoliberal values as a broader epistemology that has changed techniques of government and many aspects of daily life with the normalization of short-term contracts and an increased emphasis on marketing and self-entrepreneurship. The former does not directly cause the latter, but they exist in tandem and consequently produce a variety of social effects, including a narrowing of what employers and policymakers deem worthy of financial compensation.

Divisions of Work and Labor

Political economists and theorists often categorize notions of effort into dichotomies, largely in attempt to make sense of changing economic and social structures. These distinctions, (e.g., unproductive versus productive labor, unskilled versus skilled labor, and labor versus work) reflect divisions that help us understand the multi-faceted layers of a political economy. Adam Smith (1776) distinguished between productive and unproductive labor in the 18th century as a way to suggest how countries could become more economically efficient. He defined unproductive labor as that which disappears after

a direct exchange of physical labor for money. By contrast, productive labor generates additional capitalist profit, typically by means of creating a tangible product that one can then sell on the market for an increased revenue. Smith was writing at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and during the Scottish Enlightenment, and rational thinking from this era influences his work. His distinction between productive and unproductive labor thus rationalizes the most efficient and profitable types of labor in the new free market system of the period. Smith conceptualizes the market for wage-labor in a scientific way, providing formulaic rules for how much a laborer should earn based on the difficulty, risk, trust, and desirability of the job. His desire for less government oversight comes out of the belief that free markets will regulate themselves. He argues for less regulation during a time when colonial mercantilism, and thus taxes and strict trade regulations, was the standard economic paradigm. Smith believes that colonies and nations should specialize in particular products and trade freely in order to make the market more efficient. As such, he lays the foundation for liberal and neoliberal economic frameworks. While Smith focuses on profit for his productive versus unproductive labor distinction, my project considers productive efforts from a broader perspective. Rather than only focusing on financial profit, I also consider the positive benefits of affective work and the accumulation of what Wilkis (2018) refers to as moral capital, discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Marx uses the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor in *Capital* (1867) to account for changing economic structures associated with the Industrial Revolution. In general, he considers skilled labor to require training and experience, and he associates it with the work in the guilds. By contrast, unskilled labor involves the labor of any

individual, regardless of training. Marx suggests the categories of skilled and unskilled labor change based on supply and demand of particular types of labor. In Argentina, as the economy moves towards freelance and project-based work, musicians with whom I spoke suggested that a musical career is increasingly an option for anyone wanting to put in the hard work. While many previously considered professional musicians to require formal training at a university (aligning with Marx's skilled workers), self-taught artists are becoming popular today by following self-marketing and entrepreneurship strategies. Because of Marx's unclear distinctions between skilled and unskilled work, I find Arendt's dichotomy of work and labor more useful.

Arendt distinguishes between the effort of *animal laborans,* the labor of one's body that is "totally subject to necessity," (1998: 84) and *homo faber*, the work of one's hands. Labor ends in exhaustion, whereas work involves craftsmanship and ends when the worker produces something she can hold in her hands (such as a wooden figurine) or perform and record (such as music). In my analysis, I refer to almost all musical efforts as work, due to the intentions of the artist that extend beyond mere subsistence. For example, musicians who host an event in their home must prepare a stage and seating for their audience. We could consider the act of setting up chairs as labor, since it uses the body, and it does not require much effort from the mind. However, combined with the music and other activities that take place in the home concert, setting up chairs becomes one piece of a larger project intended to share music with friends and to create a comfortable environment for entertaining. I thus consider work to include everything involved with the musical event. One exception to this is described in Chapter 5, when I refer to the efforts of grape

harvesters on farms as labor. This particular activity contrasts with the house concert, as harvesters labor for eight hours daily in the vineyards with the sole motivation of putting food on their families' tables. They never see the 'fruits' of their labor; once one truck bed fills with grapes, it heads to the winery for further processing and the harvesters continue filling another truck. More so than placing chairs, harvesting makes demands on the body: the rough vines can cut through skin easily, and one *tacho* (basket) of grapes weighs an average of 44 pounds, which the harvester must carry some distance to the truck. No intellectual strategy or special knowledge exists in order to harvest grapes; Once the bunches mature, harvesters pick all grapes on the vine and dump them into the truck bed. Arendt argues that capitalism has shifted how we conceptualize work and labor because wages have conflated the two ideas into subsistence. As such, the re-separation of work from labor illuminates the hidden efforts of work under the guise of labor, and vice versa. Many authors today use the two terms interchangeably, ignoring the non-subsistence impact that work has and that labor lacks.

These categorizations of effort make a difference in the way that we conceptualize certain activities, and they ultimately shape how we make sense of the political economy. While all three distinctions of productive/unproductive, skilled/unskilled, and work/labor are still useful in particular contexts, the notions of invisible and visible work in the postindustrial economic age also provide useful insights. Neoliberalism has changed perceptions of what work looks like and what it should consist of. The focus on specialization and further divisions of work, often outsourced around the world for economic efficacy (Canclini 2014), inevitably obscures who works, and when. The idea

that someone engages in work when she earns small financial or consumer rewards to wear and promote a particular brand on her college campus blurs the boundaries between work and leisure (Poster, Crain, and Cherry 2016). It thus becomes easier to disregard or not consciously recognize particular aspects of work. Invisible activities consequently risk being exploited. I examine hidden work and processes of invisibilization in order to reveal injustices in neoliberal economies.

Neoliberalism and the Arts

Though musicians have participated in the "gig economy" for quite some time, new characteristics of musical work in the arts have emerged in the neoliberal era. Symon and Umney suggest most artists today make a living as part of what they call the "cultural projectariat," which references "those workers whose career depends on assembling sequences of discrete, time-limited funded cultural projects" (2019: 1). Although the assembling of piecemeal work contracts in order to make a living is not a new development in most musicians' lives, their work has taken on new forms in the neoliberal context. For example, as I explain in later chapters, governmental institutions have made musicians' work expedient resources. While governments may have been willing to fund community ensembles for their artistic value alone before the onset of neoliberal ideologies, now they increasingly justify arts funding only if there is a tangible political or economic benefit to doing so. Musicians' work in reifying Mendoza's 'brand' as a major wine destination, as one example, has profoundly impacted the tourism industry, a crucial economic sector.

Artists' tourism-related work has thus increased as more tourists seek cultural exchange experiences over vacations devoted entirely to leisure.

The concept of cultural expediency has contributed in important ways to discussions among ethnomusicologists in recent years, especially pertaining to the preservation of musical heritage. George Yúdice asserts that institutions such as the World Bank and state governments have reasons to use and benefit from supporting the arts (2004), and that they expect artistic projects to generate tangible social benefits. Ethnomusicologists have expanded on this idea with specific case studies on Argentine tango (Luker 2016) and Colombian *champeta* (Ochoa Gautier 2013). In the case of the latter, Ochoa Gautier argues that cultural expediency only works to benefit performers in certain cases where the collective goals and characteristics of an artist's music-making align with those of the sponsoring institution. While I agree with her analysis, I suggest that analyzing music as an expedient resource remains helpful to understand the relationships between the government and musicians in neoliberal society. Luker, for instance, calls for an analysis of the configuration between managerial regimes[7] and musicians, rather than describing cultural expediency merely as "the eclipse or displacement of one mode of cultural values and meanings by another" (2016: 11). He argues cultural expediency involves "a general reframing of musical values, meanings, and uses, such that different styles and relationships … become productively synergistic for all sorts of development projects" (11). I use Luker's framework to consider not only how the

[7] Luker defines a managerial regime as, "any entity that lays claim to the expediency of musical culture, including the cultural industries and other media corporations, nonprofit and nongovernmental arts organizations, and especially the cultural policies of local and national governments" (2016: 14).

arts advance the differing agendas of musicians and institutional actors, but also what aspects of work an institutionalized sponsorship hides from either the artist or the managerial regime. Ultimately, this form of analysis reveals larger, neoliberal-driven projects at play, including strategies to boost tourism revenue (on the governmental side) and inventing stable employment opportunities through self-entrepreneurship (on the ensemble's side).

Other scholars have approached music and neoliberalism from Foucault's conceptualization of governmentality. Guilbault (2007) describes the neoliberal music industry surrounding Carnival styles in Trinidad and Tobago and the rise of entrepreneurship among musicians during the 1990 neoliberal turn. Salois considers how the US Department of State encourages hip hop musicians from the Global South to become their own entrepreneurs through cultural diplomacy programs (2015). My project reveals that musicians in Argentina feel a similar push to self-govern, but it is through an analysis of their invisible work that these neoliberal ideologies come to the forefront. I view music as both expedient culture and as a tool to govern at a distance through individualist-driven entrepreneurship in order to more deeply explore the social, economic, and political consequences of neoliberal society.

Music and Affect

Scholars approach musicians' work through the lens of affect to better understand musical efforts and value systems beyond the hypervisible realm of performance. Most publications adopt Hardt and Negri's notion of affective labor, defined as one branch of

immaterial labor, or "labor that produces an immaterial good, such as a service, knowledge, or communication" (1999: 94). Affective labor, then, describes a productive form of immaterial labor that creates a specific feeling in the consumer or client. Hardt and Negri argue that while this kind of labor existed for centuries before today, the postindustrial age values it more than in previous economic systems. Kelly Tatro considers the screaming of Mexico City's punk vocalists as affective labor. She argues that through the experience of listening to and performing such music, participants "explore alternative relationships to work and notions of value, instead of just getting by through the limited channels of marginalized labor in the neoliberal metropolis" (2014: 435). Punk musicians in Mexico focus on D.I.Y. networks of skill trading instead of subscribing to a normal wage-driven work environment that capitalism encourages (434). Tatro suggests that punk performer's hard work of screaming represents an un-waged form of labor that creates anarchical solidarity among those in the punk scene. Like Tatro, I consider musicians' affective work a means of sharing and strengthening particular societal values. My analysis of affective work in protest concerts suggests that, unlike Tatro's punk scene example, musicians in Argentina move beyond particular genres and incorporate numerous differing styles within one protest concert in order to share alternative notions of value with a broader public. Unlike Hardt and Negri's implication that affective labor carries a positive connotation, Hofman argues that music constitutes a form of affective labor[8] that can produce positive

[8] Hardt and Negri, Hofman, and Tatro do not follow Arendt's distinction between labor and work, and thus all three refer to affective effort as labor. I keep their use of the term in this literature review section, however in future sections I maintain Arendt's categorization and refer to affective work to describe this type of effort.

and negative feelings for either the performer or the audience. She analyzes the gendered stereotypes and behaviors stemming from the affective labor of kafana musicians in Socialist Yugoslavia and argues that a closer focus on music labor reveals music "as both material practice and sensorial experience" (2015: 28). I follow Hofman's implication that affective work can also cause harm to already-marginalized laborers outside of what Hardt and Negri deem the informational economy. However, I also suggest that the affective workers and exploited laborers do not necessarily have to be a part of the same group of people, which I explore in Chapter 5 with Vendimia performers and grape harvesters.

Aside from affective labor, few studies consider musicians' work as hidden or invisible. One exception is Ruth Finnegan's *The Hidden* Musicians (1989), a detailed account of mostly amateurish music making in Milton Keynes, England. I follow Finnegan's work in the sense that I also focus on the practice of music rather than the product, revealing musicians' day-to-day tasks in addition to their musical performances. However, I depart from her work in that my focus remains on changing work and labor conditions due to economic and public policies as well as social subjectivities. Unlike Finnegan's largely stagnant picture of Milton Keynes musicians over more than a 12-year period, my case study illustrates the changing realities of musical work and activities due to constant economic crises, strengthening neoliberal epistemologies, and a general unpredictability that characterizes the political and economic situation in Argentina. Rommen and Neely also acknowledge musicians' invisibility in their edited volume on music and tourism, writing that "the local music makers and entertainers that provide vacationers with soundtracks to their leisure remain little more than invisible women and

men—unknown, undocumented, and under-theorized" (2014: 1-2). In this dissertation, I take a similar approach and also consider musicians' work as invisible when it is used as a backtrack for the tourism sector, particularly in Mendoza's wineries. However, there are myriad other ways in which musicians' work is hidden and/or hides the Other's labor in the process, such as underground performances and musicians' policymaking efforts. My project thus builds upon affective work literature, while simultaneously moving beyond it as the primary hidden effort in musicians' lives to consider other processes of invisibilization.

Invisible Work

Scholars have conceptualized invisible work in various ways, highlighting the kinds of effort and the relative value of different sectors of work. As previously mentioned, Poster, Crain and Cherry suggest that invisible work exists on a spectrum. The "absent and disappeared" workers appear on one end, such as social media content monitors whose job is to erase offensive internet content and, consequently, not to create anything tangible. On the other end of the spectrum, "hypervisible" workers often use their physical bodies to represent a brand, such as college campus brand ambassadors or retail clothing shop workers. Hypervisible workers thus engage in affective work beyond the scope of what might be explicitly stated in a contract, as employers expect them to make additional efforts and to "achieve visibility in the right way" such as through modeling clothes in an appealing manner (2016: 10). Alternatively, Budd suggests ten conceptualizations of work that "provide the range of possible individual and social meanings of work" (2016: 30). He

argues that particular conceptualizations — such as the narrow neoliberal perspective of work as a curse, a commodity, and a disutility[9] — visibilize particular efforts while invisibilizing others. The latter fall into one or more of his seven additional conceptualizations of work: as freedom, occupational citizenship, personal fulfilment, social relations, caring for others, identity, and service (43). Both approaches help to identify and understand invisible work. The former considers varying degrees of (in)visibility, acknowledging that not all invisible work happens out of sight. The latter organizes all efforts into particular categories, providing a framework with which to analyze what kinds of work certain economic systems value.

I propose an additional categorization system for invisible work that draws from both approaches discussed above. While the (in)visibility spectrum is helpful in theory, in practice it becomes difficult to use as a tool of analysis. For instance, where might an underground concert fall on the invisibility spectrum? How about musicians performing in the background at a winery event? The underground concert is unseen to the government and wider community outside of the venue host and musicians' social circles, yet to the audience of the concert the musicians are highly visible. By contrast, a winery concert might take place at an 'official,' state-regulated venue and thus visible to the government and wider community, but the 'audience' may not notice the band in the corner at all. In a similar way, Budd's ten categories help to categorize new modalities of work, such as

[9] Budd explains that work as a disutility is "an unpleasant activity tolerated only to obtain goods, services, and leisure that provide pleasure. This conceptualization further perpetuates the negative views of work that originally arose from seeing work as a curse and therefore has similar implications for the invisibility of labor" (2016: 35).

caring for others and service. However, ten categories can become overwhelming, and both visible and invisible efforts could fall into most of them. I offer an alternative classification system to identify different kinds of invisible work in a more manageable way: undisclosed, unpaid, undervalued, and unrecognized. Undisclosed invisibility occurs when one or more actors withhold information from another actor for their own benefit. In the music case studies I present, this manifests itself when underground artists and venue owners withhold information from the government, and the government withholds information from officially contracted artists. Unpaid invisible work includes that performed without financial compensation, while undervalued invisibility may or may not be paid, though if so, it is not at a fair price in relation to similar tasks asked of others. Undervalued invisible work also represents services that are less in demand owing to the workers' marginalized status rather than the quality of their work or their ability. In this project, I link undervalued work most closely to women musicians performing música popular. Lastly, I conceive of unrecognized invisible work as lacking proper attribution. While these categories are not mutually exclusive, I find them to be useful in thinking beyond literal invisibility, and with a greater precision. For example, in the two music scenarios above, I would describe the underground concerts as undisclosed invisible work and the vineyard concert as unrecognized. Unlike Budd's conceptualizations, my categories focus on processes of invisibilization rather than types of effort, which more easily reveal how and why certain activities are invisibilized. My approach fits within Noon and Blyton's spheres of "concealed" and "unrecognized" hidden work, though my further categorization again more accurately identifies the different processes of

invisibilization. They categorize hidden work that is illegal or deviant, such as drug and sex trafficking, as concealed hidden work. Unrecognized work covers domestic work, exchanging favors, and voluntary work that often occurs within the private sphere and without compensation (1997: 189).[10] In Noon and Blyton's framework, my category of undisclosed work would fit into the former, whereas unpaid, undervalued, and unrecognized processes would fall under the latter sphere. I argue for the further separation of Noon and Blyton's "unrecognized" label because my examples often fall into a more visible sphere of the economy, such as protest concerts and policymaking, than the domestic sphere focus of their category. As such, musicians' unpaid invisible work is not "outside the range of activity widely considered to constitute 'real' work," (1997: 189), but it instead becomes unpaid due to the greater focus on self-entrepreneurship and neoliberalism's harmful effects demanding immediate change to environmental or social ails. Similarly, artists who perform at wine events are often paid for their time, but their work supports the tourism industry's marketing image around wine, for which they ultimately do not receive credit. Thus, Noon and Blyton's unrecognized category as encompassing all hidden work that is not illegal or deviant conflates various social processes of invisibilization into one sphere.

[10] Noon and Blyton build off earlier works dealing with 'informal' and 'black' economies (Gershuny 1983; Handy 1984; Rose 1985). I find these authors to be less helpful to my analysis due to their focus on the economic aspects of such work rather than the social practices that hide them from view.

Folkloric Music and *Música Popular*

My case studies primarily involve Argentine folkloric music and dance, however they represent a marked departure from earlier analyses of the styles. Academic studies of Argentine folkloric music from the late 19th century through the 1980s primarily consisted of the descriptive documentation of various genres. Carlos Vega, one of the founders of musicology in Argentina, collected early accounts of folkloric music and extensively documented the many *especies* of regional performance (1941; 1944; 1946). Vega described especies as consisting of some sort of song accompanied by various European- and indigenous-derived instruments, most often the guitar, accordion, harp, or the *bombo* drum. Partner dancing complements most folkloric music, though especies such as *tonada* and *vidala* consist only of song and instrumental accompaniment. Alberto Rodríguez and Elena Moreno de Macía compiled and published written accounts of folkloric music and dance in the western Cuyo region of Argentina much later (1991), the same area where I conducted my work. Many musicians and dancers in Mendoza consider Rodríquez and Moreno de Macía's book one of the most important resources for understanding various regional styles in the province and surrounding areas.

Scholars writing more recently question the utility of studying Argentine folkloric music primarily in terms of classification systems and descriptions of style. Vega and Aretz's documentation of rural genres are thorough, and Latin Americanist music scholars still reference them. However, the origins, characteristics, and even the names of each especie vary by region as well as time period, raising questions as to the accuracy of an overarching taxonomy. Recent authors of folklore have instead focused on particular

regions, musical styles, or artists and on their local reception (Bosquet 2013; Sánchez 2004; García 2009, respectively). This literature moves beyond the descriptive and discusses social significance of folkloric lyrics and discourse (e.g. Díaz 2009; Sánchez 2013).

Argentine musicologists today generally agree that two important shifts occurred in the development of folkloric music over the last century. The first happened in the 1920s and 1930s when artists had new opportunities to make a living as professionals owing to the rapid expansion of the mass media. While Buenos Aires provided a majority of radio and recording opportunities, smaller studios in other provinces also employed local folk musicians. The era of early radio and recording in Buenos Aires standardized the various especies across the country and also standardized a notion of folkloric repertoire that encompassed what were previously distinct styles in various provinces (Sánchez 2013: 64). The second shift began in the 1950s and 1960s, when artists broke away from romanticized notions of folkloric music and modified rural repertoire so as to engage with social issues. The 1963 *Nuevo Cancionero* Manifesto and subsequent movement in Mendoza represented the climax of this moment, though artists such as Buenaventura Luna (1906-1955) and Atahualpa Yupanqui (1908-1992) had already begun paving the path for Nuevo Cancionero artists years earlier.

Folkloric music changed once again when the military took control of the country from 1976-83. Military leaders forced performers to return to a nationalist, romanticized notion of folk music, even as exiled musicians continued to create art with political references. At the same time, the youth focused their attention on *rock nacional* (Portorrico 2015). Nuevo Cancionero musicians, who eventually returned to Argentina to rebuild their

careers after the turbulent 1970s and early 1980s, lost support due to the rising popularity of rock. Although various authors document the status of folkloric music beginning in the 19th century and continuing through the 1980s, few have explored its meanings and implications in the 21st century. Many musicians of folkloric music today incorporate influences from other Latin American music styles such as rock nacional and *cumbia*. However, municipal sponsorship and music events hosted by the wine industry favor exclusively local genres and nostalgic imaginaries and encourage musicians to maintain a closer association with the 'traditional' folklore documented by Vega and Aretz decades ago.

Fans and musicians of folkloric music in Argentina today typically group the style under the broader umbrella term *música popular*. Some universities, especially in Buenos Aires, teach tango, jazz, and folkloric music and label all of it música popular (O'Brien 2010:19). As O'Brien explains, the Western use of the phrase, which generally refers to commercial or mass-mediated repertoire, carries a distinct connotation from its meanings in Latin America. There it references a sense of class and encompasses any style of music with broad appeal among the people. Many música popular artists hope to commercialize their music, though others also use it to resist processes of mass cultural production (O'Brien 2010:21).

The use of the term "folkloric music" to describe música popular today is somewhat misleading and local musicians often use it inconsistently. Luker explains that "*música popular* is defined less by matters of musical style and mediation than by specific types of popular social institutions and networks" (2014: 209). Such networks vary in distinct

regions of the country; in Mendoza specifically, música popular generally references music with folkloric influences before other genres. For example, in the region's only music school at the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo (UNCuyo), the música popular program teaches Argentine folkloric music and Latin American 'traditional' styles. The primary curriculum does not include jazz and tango. The connotations of música popular in Mendoza are thus more closely tied to folkloric styles than in Buenos Aires, and I use "folkloric" in parenthesis in the title of my dissertation to reflect this. While my research includes musicians that have a very 'traditional'[11] style and closely follow the forms of folkloric songs, I acknowledge that my research includes a much wider conception of música popular. The majority of my informants maintain that their compositions are originally inspired by local folkloric styles, even if their music does not follow typical conventions of form or instrumentation.

Mendoza's UNCuyo degree in música popular	**Institutions in Buenos Aires and wider musical public more generally**	**Use of música popular in this project**
Mostly Argentine folkloric styles, with some training in 'traditional' styles and rhythms from other parts of Latin America (joropo, cumbia, samba, etc.)	Tango, jazz, and Argentine folkloric styles are most prominent, in addition to both 'traditional' and commercial Latin American musics	Includes all prior designations, though with an emphasis on Argentine folkloric styles. Includes any style performed in Mendoza except Western Classical music, that has roots or draws inspiration from Argentine musical genres.

Table 1: Definitions of Música Popular

[11] I use 'traditional' here to describe the typical characteristics of older folkloric music forms, which some folkloric-influenced musicians still use today. Namely, musicians associate each *especie* with a particular rhythm, structural form, and instrumentation.

Case studies involving folkloric music making are ideally situated to reveal processes of work invisibilization on the part of both the employer and the employee. Folkloric music events typically involve small, intimate and informal gatherings of friends and family. Thus, they can be studied more easily as discrete phenomena. Analyzing the ways in which folkloric music is contracted, paid for, performed, conceptualized, enjoyed, composed, produced, and otherwise embodied allows us to consider how market reform impacts the everyday realities of citizens of the interior. Moreover, it is well documented that music is an important site for generating consensus through protest and instigating change during periods of political unrest (Friedman 2013; Garratt 2019; Illiano 2015; Manabe 2015; Peddie 2006). Understanding the ways in which music and musicians are affected by the economy and how they find ways to transgress or resist economic pressures can suggest solutions to economic difficulties from the "bottom up." By contrast, larger festivals and government-funded events or arts agencies give us the opportunity to consider musical production from a "top-down" perspective, though still on a scale that is manageable. In juxtaposing these two perspectives in various ways, musical study provides a detailed understanding of economic and social networks at individual and institutional levels. Folkloric music is an ideal case study for this project due to its strong connections to nationalist projects and regionalism at state and provincial levels, its frequent incorporation into political initiatives, and its affective ties to the local population.

The *Nuevo Cancionero* movement represented an important development and has helped to keep rural repertoire relevant and popular among Mendocinos today. Another effect of these political and artistic changes of the 1960s and 70s is that folkloric music

from Cuyo,[12] or *música cuyana,* remains both prevalent and stylistically distinct from folklore in other regions. Musicians often associate música cuyana with a pick-playing style on guitar (rather than finger picking like in most other regions of the country) and complex, jazz-influenced harmonies.[13] The birth of the Nuevo Cancionero movement helped to crystalize Cuyo's association with extended harmonic possibilities (Sánchez 2004: 91) and socially engaged lyrics. The repertoire officially made its debut in Mendoza in 1963 in conjunction with the Nuevo Cancionero Manifesto, signed by renowned artists and musicians including Tito Francia, Mercedes Sosa, and Armando Tejada Gómez.

Cuyo is an interesting region to study because of its strong ties to both urban and rural realities and musical aesthetics. Due to its distance from the Argentine capital of Buenos Aires, Cuyo's music manifests strong local influences even as rural genres combine with the "modernized" sound championed by Tito Francia in the mid-twentieth century. Buenos Aires is a cultural powerhouse, yet its vast cityscapes and cosmopolitanism does not accurately represent the daily reality of many non-Porteño Argentines. It is valuable to understand how neoliberal shifts affect both urban and rural citizens, and regional capitals represent an ideal location in which to pursue such research. Mendoza City, the capital of its province, is the fourth-largest city in Argentina with almost two million habitants. Mendoza province also has much less populated zones in the foothills of the Andes

[12] Unless otherwise specified, I use Cuyo to refer to the Mid-Western provinces of Mendoza, San Juan, and San Luis. Occasionally, La Rioja is also included in textbook definitions of the region, but due to the differences in music styles in that province, I have chosen to leave it out of this project.
[13] Santi, Adrián (assistant director of Orquesta de Guitarras Tito Francia) in discussion with the author, June 2017.

mountains. Thus, the region affords an examination of working patterns and the influences of neoliberal economic policies in urban and rural contexts simultaneously.

A significant component of this project connects rural labor, specifically from Argentina's wine industry, to music and music making, and western Argentina is the most important region to consider when studying this phenomenon. The province of Mendoza alone produces over 81% of Argentina's wine, and the Cuyo region (including San Juan, San Luis, La Rioja, and Mendoza provinces) accounts for almost 95% of it (INV 2019). Because of the importance of wine making in the area, rural wine labor is intricately connected with música cuyana through tourism and related activities, as I explore further in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

In the introduction, I theorize invisible work as a central component of music-making in a neoliberal context. I define terms used in my analysis including neoliberalism, labor, (invisible) work, and folkloric and música popular in Argentina. I also define my methodology, discuss the project's timeliness and importance in the field of ethnomusicology and beyond, and outline a foundation of literature from which I am departing.

Chapter Two on musicians and the government focuses on **undisclosed** invisible work. Firstly, I discuss the growing network of "underground" concerts found in Argentina today. According to Polo Martí, a música popular performer and professor at UNCuyo, the underground concert movement gained popularity during the 2015 government

administration after officials closed many large performance spaces and no longer subsidized the high taxes and licensing fees that allowed small performance venues to operate profitably. As a result, musicians have increasingly opened their homes, backyards, or small businesses to host illicit concerts.[14] They promote these events through social media platforms with the phrase "address sent privately" (*dirección por privado*). By literally hiding their work, identities, and locations from the municipality, hosts evade licensing fees and make profit a possibility in a neoliberal economic framework.

I discuss a second level of invisible work involved with these underground concerts, which results from transforming spaces previously used for other purposes into performance venues. Hosts, and in some cases performing musicians themselves, engage in responsibilities that require much more non-musical work,[15] including organizing and marketing the performance, preparing and selling food and drink, borrowing and setting up sound equipment, finding sound guys or gals to help with live performance technology, collecting entrance fees, paying artists, and cleaning up after the event. In a more formal performance setting, venue hosts do not typically expect the musicians to undertake these tasks; the extra responsibilities reflect the entrepreneurial spirit that neoliberalism has encouraged from workers across many industries in the last several decades.

Lastly, this chapter considers an example of the opposite kind of musical work discussed above: a formal, institutionalized relationship with local government. Taking the

[14] Polo Martí, personal communication, June 2017.
[15] I use "non-musical" work in this context to refer to all work activities which are not singing or playing an instrument.

Municipality of Guaymallén's sponsorship of the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra as a case study, I consider the ways in which the municipality benefits from this relationship, which often involve projects of civic engagement and economic development. Whether intentionally or not, these goals are often undisclosed to the wider public, and sometimes also to the musicians themselves. Using George Yúdice's notion of expedient culture, I suggest how neoliberalism has encouraged governments and other investors to reconceptualize the role of the arts in local communities.

Chapter 3 considers musicians' service to society as **unpaid** invisible work. Beyond performing to entertain and/or to make a living, musicians in Mendoza are increasingly organizing and performing in events that aim to bring awareness to pressing issues in society. These protests, which organizers typically market on social media as free festivals, denounce the effects of neoliberalism. Most prominently, I discuss arts events related to the 2019-2020 water protests in Mendoza, the ongoing anti-fracking movement, and protests against gender violence. Protest music festivals fall on the hypervisible end of the (in)visibility spectrum, as musicians perform centerstage and often in crowded public parks or university campuses. However, musicians' social commitment to improve their communities and their subsequent financial sacrifice to organize these unpaid events go unnoticed. Because of music's blurred lines as a hobby and a profession, leisurely activity and serious work, communities expect musicians with a social conscience to "do their part" in making the world a better place with or without financial compensation. The work of protest concerts does not often result in immediately visible social change, but the awareness they bring to particular issues is important in a neoliberal era where politicians

prioritize jobs, money, and efficiency over people and the environment. Additionally, artists' accumulation of moral capital through unpaid events reflects the neoliberal ethos that pushes self-entrepreneurs to maintain a personal marketing image for and beyond their career endeavors.

Aside from protest concerts, I also discuss artists using their accessibility to power through the staging of other performances to protest similar issues. In 2020, the annual grape harvest festival (discussed in more detail in Chapter 5) became a stage for contracted musicians and dancers to express their contempt for mega-mining and gender violence. Artists would march onstage with signs and other symbols of protest after the main performance. Because they already had access to the stage, these denouncements cleverly bypassed security and became a rallying cry in a hypervisible setting. However, the local governments who hosted the shows did not approve of these post-performance flash mobs. I discuss the government's attempts to actively invisibilize protesting artists— a telling example of how invisible work is consciously engineered.

Chapter 4 on underrepresented musicians focuses on gender disparities in música popular, and the additional **undervalued** invisible work in which women musicians engage to make a living. This includes organizing and participating in female collectives, a major avenue in which women collaborate and share performance opportunities with one another. It also includes fighting for legislation to more equally regulate visible music work, and to fight against the structural biases that neoliberal values often exacerbate. I consider the Live Music Female Quota Law (*Ley del cupo femenino*), passed in November 2019, as a case study for legally demanding the visibilization of underrepresented and thus

undervalued workers through policy, and why live music specifically is a uniquely situated site to fight these injustices.

Chapter 5 on music and tourism explores **unrecognized** invisible workers and laborers, and it contains two parts. Firstly, I consider the hidden role of music lyrics and performance conventions in transforming a space to a place, following Yi-Fu Tuan's notion of humanistic geography and placemaking (1977). Tourism has become the most important industry for many economies across the world (Fidel 2016: 29). Argentina, and especially Mendoza, boosted their tourism efforts during Argentina's neoliberal turn in the 1990s (Fidel 2016: 26). Enotourism, or tourism around the making, producing, and consuming of wine, is Mendoza's most important tourist sector. Though often unrecognized, música popular musicians play a crucial role in creating and maintaining the region's local image. In addition to singing lyrics that reference wine and winemaking, musicians maintain wine drinking customs at shows, and also often perform at enotourism events as background entertainment, another form of unrecognized work. Though the musicians may not consider their own role as place- and ambience-makers, they contribute to the larger neoliberal projects in the region.

Lastly, I reverse the lens of invisible work to consider how artists' visible work inadvertently contributes to the obscuring of exploitative physical labor. As a primary case study, I analyze Mendoza's most important tourist attraction and highest cultural expenditure of the provincial government, the annual *Vendimia* celebrations or grape harvest festival. This festival, which begins around October and culminates with an impressive 6-day spectacle in early March, highlights local musicians and dancers.

However, this highlighting of Vendimia planning, production, and performance invisibilizes the unrecognized labor of grape harvesters, many of whom are already marginalized because of their immigration status or heritage. Most grape harvesters come from the poorest Northwest provinces of Argentina or neighboring Bolivia. Even though the festival supposedly celebrates these laborers, I suggest that the event's artistry can distract tourist audiences from unsavory realities associated with rural farming while simultaneously boosting tourism and the economy.

I conclude by tying each one of these chapters into a coherent whole that represents the multifaceted invisible work of musicians in a neoliberal era. Taking into account the changes in music-making since the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, I suggest further directions for this research and for the study of invisible work in neoliberal economies more generally. Identifying and analyzing undisclosed, unpaid, undervalued, and unrecognized work reveals the social, cultural, and economic effects of a neoliberal epistemology. Ultimately, the study of invisible work documents not only those who deserve to be seen equally, but also the socially constructed processes that actively maintain these injustices.

METHODOLOGY

Several trips I made to Argentina between 2012 and 2020 inform my study. The majority of field research took place in Mendoza during the 2019-2020 academic year. I used two primary types of ethnographic methods for my information: 1) interviews with musicians, underground music hosts, municipality officials, ensemble directors, audience

members, protest organizers, farm owners, and grape harvesters; and 2) participant observation in rehearsals, performances, and workshops. Of the approximately 31 formal interviews I conducted, 19 were face-to-face and 17 of those took place in Mendoza province. The remaining two physical interviews took place in Córdoba, Argentina in 2017. The 12 additional interviews were with artists and arts administrators in Buenos Aires and Mendoza, and they took place via WhatsApp video calls and voice messaging, largely after the Covid-19 pandemic obliged my return to the United States. Additionally, I had many additional informal conversations with artists, farm owners, grape harvesters, Mendoza residents, and national and international tourists about their perceptions of various aspects of music making and labor in and around Mendoza. I also made visits to vineyards during grape harvest season to observe and take part in the labor of wine making, and I took bi-weekly folkloric dance classes to better interpret my observations of music and dance events.

In addition to the methods above, social media and other communication media proved useful in my data collection. I read newspapers and watched a local seasonal television series in Mendoza called *Vendimia cada día* (Grape Harvest Festival Every Day) to inform my research on Chapter 5. I used WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram to find underground concerts and upcoming protests for Chapter 3. I used snowball sampling for various parts of my project, but especially for Chapter 4, as many music events continue to invisibilize female musicians. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic that shut down most of the world by mid-March of 2020, the university recalled all students, faculty, and staff abroad worldwide, and thus obliged me to return to the United States more than six weeks earlier

than I had planned. Thereafter, I shifted my fieldwork to 'attending' live Facebook and YouTube concert streams and conducting interviews through WhatsApp.

ETHICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Like any social science-centered study, my positionality in Mendoza afforded me certain benefits and it also presented particular kinds of challenges for my research. Firstly, as a fellow musician who had previously performed alongside several of my interviewees during my 2013 exchange semester in Mendoza, my access to artists and professors was initially easy. As former musician-friends introduced me to their music colleagues, they almost always presented me as an accomplished bassist who previously studied at UNCuyo's music school. Once my friends mentioned this, the other musicians often changed their tone from disinterested and distant to warm and welcoming, and they were more than willing to help me with anything that I wanted to discuss. However, as a primarily classical musician, the comradeship did not always transfer to interviewees who learned folkloric music through oral means and outside of the university. As a US researcher, I found that many rural musicians assumed that I knew nothing about folkloric music styles in Mendoza. As such, many of my conversations began with the interviewee providing long-winded explanations of basic fundamentals and the most famous historical musicians of Cuyano folklore. I found it difficult in these situations to demonstrate my deeper understanding and commitment to learning the nuances of such oral histories, and I also felt that my comparably young age and status as a woman in folkloric spaces made it difficult for these musicians to take me seriously. Conversely, my gender identity helped

me immensely in my research with women artists. I found all of my female interviewees to be extremely open and honest with me about gender disparities in Mendoza's performing spaces, especially when we spoke in one of our homes. Once my interviewees understood that I was interested in exploring the realities of women artists performing música popular in Mendoza, they shared otherwise-private information about their lived experiences in the music industry.[16] Female musicians were also the most willing to share numerous names and numbers of colleagues with me, and still to this day I receive WhatsApp messages from many of them alerting me of various female musician-related projects and performances happening around the country. In many ways, my female interviewees made me feel like an 'insider' to them from the start, and they took me and my research very seriously in ways that were less common (though not completely absent) in male-centered folkloric music circles.

A project with ethnographic methods inevitably brings up difficult questions about identity and power. As a white researcher from the "Global North," I acknowledge my privileged position to finance a trip to the other side of the world, to find myself among "Others," and to avoid jumping through a plethora of visa hoops as my interviewees do when they want to visit the United States. The Western academy, especially in the social sciences, has a complicated history involving neocolonialism and the misrepresentation of host communities. My relationship with many interviewees began as a friend or classmate years before the dissertation project. As a foreign exchange student in Mendoza in 2013,

[16] Due to the details of such experiences and given the nature of Mendoza's music scene as being fairly small with most musician networks closely-connected to one another, I have left out many details here to respect their privacy.

my privileged position never crossed my mind. When I made return trips to Mendoza, no longer to study Western classical music *with* my friends and classmates but rather local music styles *and* my friends and classmates, I became acutely aware of some of the problematic dynamics of my visits. As I continue to grapple with the contradictions of my contempt for colonialism and my role as a North American ethnographer in the Global South, I offer a few approaches, thoughts, and reflections on my time in the field, informed by my positionality. These are not intended as a defense or a rationalization of my actions or identity as a foreign fieldworker. By speaking transparently about the complicated nature of such relationships, it is my hope that as social scientists, we can work towards ethical action and the mediation of such predicaments.

Thoughts on Friendships and Compensation

Friendships are built on give-and-take relationships. I actively looked for ways in which I could make my relationships with interviewees as close to the friendship relationships I had initiated years before. While most of the favors I asked of them involved informing me of 'underground' events, introducing me to musician friends, and speaking to me about their lived experiences, I found it difficult to repay them outside of the material realm. I did not offer compensation for interviews and other information, but I did make an effort to support their musical projects by buying their CDs, encouraging non-musician friends to attend their concerts with me, and offering small gifts when they invited me to their houses. I also helped with translating promotional materials to English when asked to do so.

Thoughts on Money

My financial positionality felt particularly pronounced during my last two trips to Mendoza as the value of the Argentine peso had plummeted and the power of the US dollar dramatically increased. Friends and newly-met acquaintances alike would constantly remind me that I did not have to worry about anything with a salary in US dollars. Despite this, I worried a lot. I worried about the power imbalances that our incomes created. I worried about the growing reputation of "Yankee" tourists who boasted endlessly about their cheap vacation and their $4, four-course lunch while the family at the end of the block dug through the dumpster with their infant in order to survive the economic crisis. I worried about the reaction of a new interviewee when they would ask me where I was from after observing such tourists. I worried about interviewees who might feel obliged to talk to me because they knew I would attend their show if they did, and they needed the ticket sale. While I never felt unwelcome or judged for being a US student, financial power imbalances influenced my lifestyle and spending decisions while in the field, and merit further reflection.

On Access and Power

Chapter 5 includes the voices of grape harvesters. While I knew I wanted to include their experiences alongside my story, I had a difficult time accessing this population. Most harvesters live in dilapidated houses close to the vineyards that the farm owners provide, and thus do not have internet or other forms of long-distance communication. By chance, the family from which I rented a room in their house in 2020 owned several farms

throughout Mendoza. The father of the family brought me to three of their farms during harvest time so that I could talk to the harvesters and participate in the harvest. The farms were quite far from the city center and not accessible without a car, so he solved one of the most difficult access problems by driving me there. However, I was aware that there would be a power imbalance between myself and the harvesters as soon as I pulled up in the farm owner's truck. I knew I was not going to be able to ask the harvesters all of the questions that I wanted to about their working situation due to my affiliation with their boss, and because when I was there it also meant that the owner was there. I attempted access by other means and considered various approaches for finding harvesters to talk to that did not involve the farm owner, but unfortunately, I was not able to find a solution to this quandary.

A Note on Quotations, Translations, and Language

I leave all direct quotes in Spanish. A primary motivation for undertaking this work is to bring hidden work, and often hidden voices, to the forefront. As such, I wish to include the voices of my interviewees alongside my outsider observations when possible. Only providing my own English translations of their words is participating in the process of erasure. It is worth acknowledging that my interviewees speak the language of their country's colonizers. Due to the large wave of European immigrants to Argentina in the late 19th century, most of my interviewees come from European heritage. A small number of my interviewees have family lineages attached to the indigenous Huarpe group from the

Valle Huentota, or Cuyo region before colonization, though the surviving knowledge of the language is fragmented and not spoken today.

Chapter 2: Undisclosed.
Musical Work and Self-Entrepreneurship vs. Municipal Sponsorship[17]

"It must be one of these houses here," the Uber driver told me as he pulled up to a street corner. I repeated the address again out loud, but neither of us could find any address on the houses. The driver guessed it was the last house on the street. I tipped him and got out, venturing to the unwelcoming chain-link fence that surrounded the driveway. Although the gate was open, I hesitated to enter. I did not hear music or see people conversing outside. I looked at my phone, trying to find the host's number. As I did, a middle-aged man came out from the house behind the gate. "Do you need something?" He asked, in a somewhat threatening tone. I told him I was looking for a concert and gave him the address I needed. "Well, that is my address, but there is no music happening here. Maybe you have the wrong municipality." I assured him that the concert was happening in Godoy Cruz. He told me again he was sorry but there was no concert happening at his house and he did not know of any concerts on his block. I thanked him and started walking away. Thirty seconds later, he shouted back at me, "Wait! Do you mean just some kids who play guitar?" Yes, I confirmed I was looking for guitar music. "Oh, yeah, that's probably my nephew. He is next door."[18]

I found this concert on a social media page advertising various music events in Mendoza. The flyer listed the performing artists, as well as the date and time, but no

[17] This chapter evolved from a previously published piece: Lahasky, Sarah. "Municipal Sponsorship and Musical Work in Argentina: Ensemble Institutionalization in a Neoliberal Economy." *Sociologia del lavoro* no. 157, Special issue, "From Atypical to Paradigmatic? Artistic Work in Contemporary Capitalist Societies." (October 2020): 108-24.

[18] The quotes in this anecdote are used for dialogue purposes only; they reflect the paraphrased conversation rather than verbatim.

location. The description of the photo on social media read "*dirección por privado*" (address sent privately). Since I did not know the host and he was not the one who posted the flyer originally, I contacted one of the musicians whom I knew from the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra. He gave me the number of the host, whom I then messaged for the address.

Figure 1: Flyer for first concert of the second season cycle at *Música en el Jardín*

Musicians in Mendoza have increasingly relied on people's backyards, living rooms, and other private spaces as concert venues. Jocelyne Guilbault argues that the neoliberal turn in 1990s Trinidad and Tobago created a shift from informal to formal music

production and performance due to greater regulatory practices such as implementing copyright laws and formally registering pieces with licensing companies (2007: 252). My observations and conversations with musicians in Mendoza suggest that the opposite shift has occurred in recent years. Polo Martí, a música popular performer and professor at the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo (UNCuyo), maintains that the underground concert movement gained popularity in 2015 after government officials closed large performance spaces and their policies no longer subsidized the high taxes and licensing fees that allowed small performance venues to operate profitably. Underground spaces I visited appeared to be part of a fairly new trend; most had been established less than two years before the date of my interview with their management.

Many musicological studies have focused on underground music scenes (Baker 2006; Matsue 2009; Graham 2016; Bennett and Guerra 2018; Barone 2019), but what is lacking from previous publications is a clearer analysis of how musicians' work has changed as a result. Geoff Baker considers underground rappers in Havana as working against the commercial or capitalist values of the music industry, for instance; though my case study in Argentina does not find that musicians critique mainstream commercial music making in the same way (in fact, most musicians participate in both commercial and underground scenes), it does parallel Baker's analysis in that musicians in both cases are fighting against the inaccessibility of government-controlled music spaces. Cuban rappers and their audiences note that the entrance fees charged to access commercial venues typically cost more than their monthly salary (Baker 2006: 223); in the case of Argentine event promoters, the high taxes and licensing fees charged by local governments make it

impossible to generate income from small official venues. My focus on underground concerts in this chapter differs from that of Baker and others in that it takes musicians' work as the focal point of analysis. Christopher Small writes that "music is not a thing at all but an activity, something that people do" (1998: 2). Following Small, I adopt an activity-centered approach in order to consider relationships and efforts involved with musicking. While other scholars focus intently on the 'sounds of the underground' as Graham's book title suggests, many overlook the work-related consequences that certain types of spaces bring. I move beyond the temporal limits of sound at a concert and instead I analyze the tasks and relationships leading up to and following the performance. Such an analysis of musicking activities in underground and formal settings (as I discuss later) exposes the changing realities of artistic and economic freedom in both contexts.

In this chapter, I consider the invisibilization of musicians through undisclosed work, in addition to the extra-musical work that undisclosed events require. I conceptualize undisclosed work to represent working situations in which one or more actor(s) withhold(s) information from (an)other actor(s) in order to reap more benefits. By evading government licensing fees, my study suggests how the work of a musician is changing to include other tasks such as organizing and marketing, preparing and selling food and drink, borrowing and setting up sound equipment, and various other "extra-musical" tasks. They include activities that may or may not be crucial to the music performance and that extend far beyond playing an instrument or singing. Musicians have always been responsible for a certain amount of extra-musical work, although wealthier musicians and institutionalized ensembles can outsource such work to roadies and other performance crews. However, I

suggest that musicians in Mendoza now undertake more activity of this nature than ever before, largely due to the requirements of neoliberal-driven self-entrepreneurship. Following Bataille, Bertolini, Casula, and Perrenoud, my analysis confirms that "the empirical study of artistic work in contemporary societies can…contribute to a better understanding of the ongoing changes in the systems regulating artistic production—in terms of organizational structures, social relations, norms, and values—influencing the behaviour, experience, and identity of artists as workers and on the nature of work" (2020: 65). The authors suggest "the state's commitment in cultural production has a crucial impact in [sic] the various ways of working within art fields" (71). In the second part of this chapter, I reverse the focus on governmental regulation, considering the effects of ensemble institutionalization on musicians' work. Using the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra as a case study, I discuss how the municipality benefits from the sponsorship of music groups and consider the government's culturally expedient agenda for doing so, which is often undisclosed to the audience and to the musicians themselves.

A common theme throughout both of my studies of undisclosed invisible work is artists' risk management, and the economic and artistic freedom (or lack thereof) that stem from certain types of employment relationships. Kleppe's study of theater employment in three European countries suggests that artists who have stable employment funded by the state are more likely to take artistic risks. Conversely, freelance artists who manage all economic risks themselves are viewed "not primarily an entrepreneur, but rather a self-employed worker in a Marxist sense, selling their labour power to those who pay the most" (2017: 60). Consequently, Kleppe argues that these artists take fewer risks because they

must do what is safe in order to make a living. My focus remains on the distinctions and relationships between musical and extra-musical work in differing employment settings, which actually suggests a different conclusion from Kleppe. As my research below indicates, stable employment and low economic risk can also represent a very restricted space in relation to artistic freedom due to the limits that bureaucratic systems impose on musicians. This also follows the conception of individual risk-taking under privatization and other neoliberal economic policies. As Dale Chapman suggests, "if the jazz musician's willingness to take chances has been understood as a powerful analogy for behavioral finance, or as a useful metaphor for the post-Fordist corporation, it likely derives from the alignment of risk taking with the prevailing ideologies of neoliberal capitalism" (2018: 35). In other words, when artists are pushed into spaces where the responsibilities of maintaining job stability and success are entirely on them, they must take chances in order to predict what will be most favorable in the volatile free market. In contrast to government-sponsored ensembles, underground, self-employed musicians take on all the economic risk associated with their events, but they enjoy greater artistic freedom and are more likely to take risks. An analysis of the undisclosed work in both settings helps reveal how differing employment situations maintain differences in economic and artistic risk taking. These distinctions prove useful for a couple of reasons. Firstly, understanding how different working environments change risk-to-freedom ratios can help artists make informed decisions about their working situations. Secondly, cultural policymakers need to understand how these scenarios differ in order to create safeguards in the case of freelance artists or to implement cultural expedient policies in ways that do not hinder artistic

freedom. In the case of the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra, the musicians can also better leverage their offerings and negotiate their terms of service when they are aware of their value to the local government.

UNDERGROUND MUSIC

Authors of both scholarly and popular literature use the term "underground" to reference everything from illicit music to alternative music. As Barone's case study demonstrates, the definition of the term sometimes changes even within a particular music scene (2019). Baker suggests that in the case of Cuban rap performances, "the beats were 'underground' [or non-commercial]—hard and spare—and the voices animated and intense" (Baker 2006: 216). In the case of reggaeton in Puerto Rico, people referred to the music as underground there due to its sexually vulgar and violent lyrics (Rivera 2009: 111). Graham also associates underground music with "ultra-marginal" music styles, but the implication that musical style can suggest whether an event is underground does not interest me here. In fact, the music style of underground concerts in Argentina vary widely, although many have roots in folkloric genres. I use the term underground in reference to the events described in the opening anecdote: concerts that are technically illegal because their organizers have not sought official licenses from the municipality to host events or sell food, drink, and entrance tickets. Some underground hosts with whom I spoke agreed that they were not willing to pay the fees required in order to organize concerts, though the host of Novena Casa suggested that the paperwork involved in making the venue "official" was the true barrier to legal status:

> [It would be] very expensive. There would be a lot of obstacles, because it isn't a business, it's a family home…honestly, I don't know that it would be *that* expensive. I think people don't [apply for licenses] because it's easier not to…in

> my case, I wouldn't do it. Not because of the money but because I don't like facing all that bureaucracy.[19]

The average age of audiences and artists at semi-clandestine events varies widely, from young children to retired adults. The primary reason for the "underground" status of concerts in Argentina derives not from the kind of music they perform, or the age or social profile of those in attendance, but exclusively from the spaces in which the concerts are hosted and for the social, political, and economic reasons behind utilizing those spaces.

Some of the underground venue hosts with whom I spoke suggested that their inspiration for creating small performance spaces stemmed from the London-based movement Sofar Sounds, even as they modified such events to meet local needs. Sofar, which stands for Songs from a Room, began in 2009 and eventually spread to over 400 cities globally (Riom 2020: 202). The initial impetus for Sofar was that the hosts felt audience members were too involved with their cellphones, side-bar conversations, and meals at live music events to the extent that that they failed to enjoy the music (201). Sofar thus invites limited, and in some cases, carefully selected audience members to enjoy a small living room concert experience without distractions. Though the intimate performance venues and DIY/ entrepreneurial spirit of Sofar are similar to the events that I attended, the underlying reason for the events are slightly different. The Sofar Sounds movement emphasizes artistic value and an enhanced audience experience, whereas in Argentina many musicians turn to these spaces for additional revenue and performance

[19] "Muy caro. Habrían muchas trabas, porque no es un comercio, es una casa familiar…tampoco sé si *tan* caro. Creo que uno no lo hace porque quiere estar tranquilo…en mi caso, no lo haría. No solamente por la plata sino no me gustaría hacer toda esa burocracia." Host of Novena Casa, Interview. November 17, 2019. Godoy Cruz.

opportunities. Janotti Jr. and de Almeida Nobre Pires explain that large concerts and festivals in Brazil have also experienced budget cuts due to economic crisis[20] since 2010, thus encouraging musicians to create their own performance spaces. In reference to the Sofar network there, they write, "it is in the current context of constant crises and economic disruptions that we see the emergence of new production tactics in the live-music sector. In particular, these are production practices driven mainly by aesthetic and emotional attachments to music" (2018: 140). Sofar also has a network in Mendoza and throughout Argentina, though the underground events I discuss are not part of the franchise. I suspect this is because the hosts are most concerned with achieving financial sustainability and creating their own reputation rather than participating in a larger organization focused on aesthetics. Because of Sofar's immense growth over the last decade, some might view it as more mainstream than other underground events. Contrary to independent underground events in Mendoza, Sofar ultimately decides if your space is right for their brand, and if it is, they then offer you particular performance dates. They also send a team to help with setup and cleanup, so the host does relatively little in comparison to the case studies I discuss here.

Many underground venue hosts are musicians themselves, which speaks to the extra-musical work required by freelance artists. They typically organize and perform at their own events, or occasionally rent out their space to other artists and assume a more

[20] The authors explain that many large festivals now rely on states' tax incentives to companies in order to find cultural funding. Due to these companies also feeling the effects of financial crisis since 2010, the authors predict that the "scenario for the future is likely to be a gradual slowdown in cultural investments and the end of programmes like 'Conexão Vivo'" (Janotti and Nobre Pires 2018: 140). Conexão Vivo is a program through a mobile phone company that supports cultural initiatives.

managerial role. The standard entrance fee in 2019-2020 was around 200 pesos, or a little over $3 USD. The hosts generally charged 30% of the total ticket revenue and divided the rest among the performers. Audience numbers varied between two and fifty people, depending on the size of the space and other factors such as the time spent marketing and the reputations of the artists. In many cases, underground shows did allow musicians to earn extra money.[21] For the "Música en el Jardín" (Music in the Backyard) event described in the vignette above, the host held a series of concerts each summer to raise funds to support the recording of his band's newest LP.[22] The first concert of the series was well attended, but the host explained that the second concert was a flop ("flojo") because three performers played to only two audience members.[23] The host of Novena Casa had another part-time job outside unrelated to music; he explained that money did not motivate him to organize underground events, rather he did so in an effort to connect with audience members and socialize with other musicians on a more intimate level.[24] In another concert space known as La Casa Margarita, a middle-aged couple opened up a rehearsal studio where one of the partners used to hold sessions to play and record original film music. They began to host underground concerts because they wanted to provide new options to individuals who did not have anywhere to play. In this case too, the couple did not view

[21] Most of my self-supporting informants dealt with rising inflation by working more in order to make up for lost income. Many worked as music educators in school settings or taught private lessons. Others worked outside of music to make ends meet, such as selling and delivering *yerba mate* or other nutritional supplements to clients. Underground events thus give musicians more options to earn income from their music careers, which is what many of them hope to eventually do full-time.
[22] Host of Música en el Jardín, Personal Communication. September 19, 2019.
[23] Host of Música en el Jardín, Interview. November 23, 2019. Guaymallén.
[24] Host of Novena Casa, Interview. November 17, 2019. Godoy Cruz.

the enterprise primarily as a profit generator, as they let artists take home the first 1500 pesos of any revenue generated; if anything extra remained, the hosts would keep it. They also cooked empanadas and sold wine, beer, and soda, though this too seemed designed to add to the ambience of the event rather than turn a profit.[25]

Others hoped that hosting underground events could replace their day jobs, but their entrepreneurial efforts proved unsuccessful in that respect. One couple organized numerous concerts in their mother's yoga studio when she was not teaching, for instance. The modest crowds they attracted did not cover the costs of staging shows, and they decided to close down the venue after only eight months and a handful of performances.[26] The yoga studio example indicates that even without making spaces official and paying for the necessary licensing fees, small recitals do not generate much profit; this is especially true in Argentina where many have dwindling disposable incomes and experience rising inflation. It also suggests that the kinds of work individuals engage in to host such events have increased relative to what is required at official events. The couple from the yoga studio explained that they undertook many hours of setup and cleanup for each performance. They had to move seating and tables into the studio, advertise in advance, and take reservations. They also sold food and beverages at the shows, cooking themselves beforehand. They had to be present early so that the musicians could set up their instruments and do a sound check. During the show, they were busy verifying reservations at the entrance, taking orders, serving, and getting the musicians what they needed. After the show, they spent several

[25] Hosts of La Casa Margarita, Interview. November 16, 2019. Godoy Cruz.
[26] Host of Libra, Interview. January 11, 2019. Mendoza.

hours breaking down the seating and cleaning the studio so that their mother would have a clean space for her yoga classes the following day. Because they wanted to keep the cost low enough that their friends could attend, the revenue they generated from these shows was typically less than the equivalent of USD $20 per person. The hosts, who are musicians themselves, thus decided the amount of extra-musical work required was not worth the payout. They also regretted missing most of the performances themselves as they focused on other tasks.[27]

Many entrepreneurs kept the details of their shows confidential, both because they hoped to avoid municipal fines or forced closure, but also in order to gage audience interest. The host of the Música en el Jardín events, for instance, suggested that the reason he put "address sent privately" on his marketing materials was to mitigate some of the economic risk associated with being an entrepreneur. He explained, "it is a way to filter the public a bit, and in some ways it helps to bring, let's say, a certain group of people together…taking part involves active inquiry on the part of the public to find out where the space is located. It helps commit the person to attending, and it helps us know how many people are planning to come."[28] Since many underground hosts buy food to sell, they assume the risk of potentially buying too much food and ultimately losing money. Most events require some sort of reservation, thus allowing the host to prepare for the correct number of attendees

[27] Host of Libra, Personal Communication. September 16, 2019.

[28] "también hay una forma para seccionar un poco, digamos, el público y… en algún punto también sirve para traer digamos a cierto público…de alguna forma de consultar, digamos, dónde es el espacio llama un compromiso … de qué quiere asistir y a nosotros nos sirve para por lo menos tener una certeza, digamos, de cuanta gente se va a acercar del espacio." Host of Música en el Jardín, Personal Communication. September 19, 2019.

and ultimately increasing the chances of making a profit. The Música en el Jardín host also points out that he likes to know who is coming since he essentially invites strangers into his family's home. By using social media networks and not posting direct contact information, he attracts attendees with closer ties to friends and family.[29]

Virtually all underground performances require an increase in extra-musical work for everyone involved, as in the case of the yoga studio. Guilbault described a similar case in Trinidad and Tobago; the entrepreneurial spirit of neoliberalism meant that many festival tasks had to be divided among organizers, artists, and others (2007: 247). The Música en el Jardín host explained that he provided basic sound equipment like microphones and monitors to his artists. The host did not own enough sound equipment, however, so he borrowed items from friends. He explained that he had a small network of associates who also hosted underground concerts and that they borrowed from one another in order to keep costs down. The host of Donde la Chola also borrowed sound equipment from friends so that musicians would not have to bring as much gear, but they asked participants to contribute certain items like an extra mic stand or music stand. I arrived very early to one of their events and found that the hosts spent more than three hours preparing for the concert. This does not include the numerous announcements they posted to social media leading up to the event, the equipment lists they solicited from musicians, and stage setup that occurred even earlier. At all underground venues, hosts look for ways to separate the

[29] It is also worth noting that the fire and safety codes for houses and other underground spaces are inevitably not regulated in the same way that an official venue might be. Given Argentina's history of safety code neglect, even in public spaces such as the tragic 2004 fire at the Cromañón club that killed almost 200 people and injured thousands of others, there is an aspect of personal liability added to the host's responsibilities and risks assumed at underground events.

performance space from the audience, and this also requires advance preparation. A venue known as El Espiral used string lights on the floor to separate audiences from musicians. Donde la Chola used a carpet, Música en el Jardín used the raised deck patio, and La Casa Margarita had a raised platform.

Figure 2: Stages left to right: La Casa Margarita, Donde la Chola, Música en el Jardín

Food and drink require a significant amount of additional work to prepare and sell at events. At Música en el Jardín, the host and his partner cooked personal pizzas to sell. One of his friends sold veggie burgers as his "day job," so the host also bought some from him to sell at the event. The host liked to help his friends in this way and at the same time did not have to worry about cooking as much.[30] The host's partner at Donde la Chola had connections to a small vineyard through their father, so they named the event "Peña del casero" (homemade peña); the couple, both of whom also performed that night, made and sold their own wine. Wine-making efforts required months of prior effort to pick grapes and begin the fermentation process.[31] Another friend brewed their own beer and offered

[30] Host of Música en el Jardín, Personal Communication. September 19, 2019.
[31] Host of Donde la Chola, Interview. November 23, 2019. Guaymallén.

many homemade food items for sale such as vegan *guiso* (stew) and ham and cheese sandwiches.

Figure 3: Posted menu with prices at "Peña del casero" show, Donde la Chola. November 23, 2019.

Many relationships I describe above represent what Viviana Zelizer calls “circuits of commerce,” or established networks of selling and borrowing between friends, families, and potentially strangers. She suggests that thinking about these relationships as circuits bring to light relational work that might otherwise remain invisible (2010: 307). In the case of underground music venues, circuits of commerce illuminate the significant amount of extra-musical work required on the part of the hosts and their friends, for which they are compensated with either real money or social debt. Circuits of commerce among audience members, hosts, and artists do not appear as clearly in government-sponsored ensemble settings because the stability of the relationship between the artists and municipal officials does not require additional economic activity to sustain it. By contrast, underground

concerts rely on circuits to distribute compensation to others within the network as a means of supporting a precarious infrastructure.

One host explained that the extra time needed to organize refreshments at underground shows proved too difficult given their full-time day jobs, so they decided not to offer any and instead asked guests to bring their own.[32] At another underground recital at El Espiral, the host also chose not to provide food and drink. That event seemed much more formal than the Música en el Jardín show, where people casually conversed in between songs as they ate and drank. The Espiral show took place late at night, the lights were dimmed, and everyone's attention remained on the artists.[33] Analía Garcetti mentioned that as an established musician with an income apart from performing, she will not play at events where food and drink are served because she feels it ruins the communication between the audience and the performer.[34] Aside from involving extra work, the hosts must therefore choose what sort of environment they want in their home-turned-stage space.

Many underground venue hosts I interviewed alluded to the neoliberal discourse surrounding entrepreneurship and its current centrality. The host of Novena Casa explained that the new "buzz word" in Argentina was *autogestionar,* which roughly translates to self-management. He felt that in order to remain an important musician today, one must invest significant effort maintaining a public profile, marketing events, and attracting an audience.

[32] Host of Novena Casa, Interview. November 17, 2019. Godoy Cruz.
[33] Recital, "Rondita de canciones." October 5, 2019. El Espiral.
[34] Analía Garcetti, Interview. November 13, 2019. Mendoza.

He explained that the idea of self-management had been around forever, but "now it is pervasive, self-management is being taken very seriously. And not by just a few people, but everyone."[35] Two other hosts with whom I spoke also explained that they now felt it was up to performing musicians to ensure their events were well attended. One host of La Casa Margarita insisted "no muevo gente" (I don't move people [through], hustle for audiences), but this particular individual had an entire performance space already set up for musicians, ultimately requiring less work from artists to secure and transport their own sound equipment, leaving them more time for promotion.[36] In any case, promoting the show through WhatsApp messaging and other social media platforms typically involved significant effort by everyone, reflecting a neoliberal ethos. The host of Novena Casa suggested that underground spaces opened up a world of opportunity for musicians at any level of experience. He suggested "if you want to perform, there aren't any excuses [as to why you aren't]," [37] implying that it only requires effort on the part of artists to market themselves and find or create space in which to play. Similar to discourse in the United States, Argentine artists also suggest that "artistic individualism has been reconfigured as flexible, competitive entrepreneurialism, and repositioned as an ideal toward which every citizen should strive" (Ritchey 2019: 87).

One disadvantage to building an entrepreneurial market underground is that most of such events in Mendoza are shrouded in mystery, personifying the space where they are

[35] "Hoy por hoy la veo muy presente, se está tomando mu yen serio. Y no para unos pocos, es para todos." Host of Novena Casa, Interview. November 17, 2019. Godoy Cruz.
[36] Hosts of La Casa Margarita, Interview. November 16, 2019. Godoy Cruz.
[37] "Si querés tocar, no hay escusas." Host of Novena Casa, Interview. November 17, 2019. Godoy Cruz.

held rather than providing information about the identity of the hosts. I often messaged the WhatsApp numbers provided in an ad or on a venue's social media page for the location and details of particular events; I rarely knew who I was messaging, and most photos on event media only displayed a flyer or a picture of the venue. The names of the places became anthromorphized when "El Espiral" or "Donde la Chola" messaged me back anonymously, further distancing actual people from the illicit activities they advertised. In cases in which I did not previously know the host, it was very difficult to guess who was in charge; many people alternated between working for and listening to the recital, giving the impression that no one person was ultimately in charge. When I arrived at El Espiral, others were also waiting outside of the house to be let in. A man came to the door and asked if we needed something. The others replied, "El Espiral?" and the host then asked for our names and let us in. This suggested to me that the other audience members did not know the identity of host either, and that the only name we had to go by was that of the venue.

Underground concerts ultimately allow musicians to continue performing regularly even during times of economic crisis, and with more artistic freedom. Financial returns in underground spaces tend to be far less lucrative than government-sponsored or otherwise official performances, but they provide supplemental income in between larger events that allow musicians to make ends meet. The underground also serves as a space for amateur musicians or those with full-time jobs in other fields to perform and socialize with musicians and audience members. However, the events come at a price: the time and work involved in sustaining them require a strong entrepreneurial spirit. Reversely, these spaces

also allow for greater artistic freedom for those hosting and performing. Though I avoid categorizing an underground concert as defined by its experimental or marginal sound, musicians are much more likely to perform original pieces at these intimate events. Many groups that I heard in house venues were newly formed and involved interesting instrumentations, often incorporating sounds from the Caribbean, Brazil, and other regions of Latin America.[38] Though most were rooted in folkloric styles, many original compositions did not follow the typical song structure of those genres. As I discuss later, ensembles that work for public institutions most often perform well-known folkloric songs that follow a stricter structure and instrumentation. In the next section, I contrast the intensive amounts of extra-musical work typical of underground concerts with the mostly musical work associated with government-sponsored ensembles, and I suggest why sponsored relationships benefit both artists and local officials.

GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED ENSEMBLE INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Musicians' work is generally more 'musical' with consistent funding from the government. The large venues or public events where sponsored groups play typically provide box office tellers, security, and sound, stage, and lighting crews. Symphonic orchestra musicians expect this type of service, and they receive substantial funding

[38] For example, listen to Gaby Fernández and Daniel Morcos's performance of "Cueca hembra" by Morcos and Machado: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rtuX5AnE7co; Tardeagua's "Flores," which the artists categorize the genre as having an "aroma" of cueca: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0efx3dU6nPg; or Nahuel Jofré's "Canción del orégano": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=03VRCy908RA. It is important to note that many of these artists perform in both underground and public settings, so there is not a sharp divide between sound and experimentation in one over the other. However, in general artists seem to have more freedom to perform more of their new and less 'traditional' sounding pieces in underground venues than in festivals and events organized by the city or provincial governments.

through the Argentine state, either directly or indirectly via state-funded universities (Benzecry 2006: 452). Mendoza supports two professional symphonic orchestras; one is sponsored directly by the Province, the other by UNCuyo, the local public university. Stable positions for música popular musicians have never been common or comparable to those in symphonic orchestras, even before market deregulation. However, local autonomous governments are better equipped to hire música popular musicians in positions that benefit both parties. I discuss below how local municipalities help folkloric/commercial performers engage in less extra-musical work than in underground scenes and to continue working legally when the national government endorses market deregulation. I use the city of Guaymallén's sponsorship of the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra as a case study to explore the dynamics of artistic work in an institutionalized setting.

The Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra is an example of a music ensemble that enjoys relative job stability through municipal sponsorship. They are a 27-piece ensemble that features seventeen guitars, four *guitarrones*,[39] three double basses, two co-directors, and one percussionist.[40] A couple of exceptional group members are self-taught, but most have formal training in either classical guitar or música popular performance through private

[39] Not to be confused with the Mexican mariachi instrument with the same name, a *guitarrón* is an Argentine folkloric instrument similar to the guitar but tuned one fourth lower than the guitar to give it a lower register. This instrument typically plays the rhythmic accompaniment (Marino 2019: 30).
[40] The orchestra currently includes members between the ages of 20 and 59, with an average age around 30 (Adrián Santi, Personal Communication, December 27, 2019). Given the male-dominated genre of folkloric music styles in Mendoza, the fact that the orchestra has included only men since its inception goes largely unquestioned by the public. However, in Chapter 4 I discuss a new female quota law for live music events that was passed in November of 2019, which might encourage the orchestra to incorporate female members in the future.

lessons and/or through the music school at UNCuyo. Many members devote themselves to music full time, though some have day jobs as engineers, teachers, businessmen, or other professions. In promotional materials, the group markets itself as a foregrounding "new musical concept that seeks to recreate, through the guitar, the most important works from Argentine folkloric music, in addition to other musical genres that have had an impact on our country's history such as the tango and international classics" ("Carpeta Orquesta de Guitarras 2017").[41] The group performs a wide variety of pieces: local folkloric genres such as the *tonada* and *cueca*,[42] national genres including the tango, regional Latin American styles such as the *cumbia* and *bolero*, and international repertoire from the US like jazz and Hollywood film music. Despite this diversity, group members interpret all genres in a style that suggests the influence of Cuyo. As Gerardo Marino explains, the ensemble achieves this sense of localness by using common harmonies associated with

[41] "La 'Orquesta Municipal de Guitarras Tito Francia,' un nuevo concepto musical que busca recrear, por medio de este instrumento, las más importantes obras del folklore argentino, así como también de otros géneros musicales que han marcado la historia de nuestro país como el tango y clásicos del mundo."

[42] The *tonada*, *cueca,* and *gato* are the most performed regional Cuyano especies. Of the three, the tonada is the only one without an accompanying dance, and musicians typically interpret it with a guitar and voice. The cueca and gato are usually performed in conjunction, as musicians often repeat the well-known phrase "no hay cueca sin gato" (there is no cueca without a gato) on stage. Both of these especies have counterparts in the north of Argentina and in Chile, however the choreography and song forms differ slightly in each region. Like the tonada, the Cuyano versions of the cueca and gato are also primarily performed with a guitar or guitar ensemble and voice, though artists sometimes add in percussion instruments as well, which is more characteristic of the music from northern Argentina. Musically, the cueca cuyana is generally in a major key and has two parts, each with two verses and a chorus. The number of measures vary between certain composers, but most commonly the first verse has 16 bars (the lyrics are aabb), whereas the second verse and the chorus both have 12 (the lyrics are cdd and eff, respectively). Each 4-measure line is eight syllables if there are lyrics. The strumming rhythm is based on a superimposed 3/4 and 6/8 pattern. Choreographically, the cueca has many variants. In fact, dancers generally say that there are as many versions of the cueca as there are cueca dancers. However, the modern stylized version usually involves executing half-moon shapes (*arrestos*) in the center (in theory, the partners would form this shape in the width of hileras or rows of grapevines) after a half-turn (*media vuelta*). See Rodríguez and Moreno de Macía 1991: 164-65 for choreography visuals and Sánchez 2004: 154 for more information on cueca structure.

folklore from the Cuyo region,[43] adopting stylistic features such as the use of a guitar pick and producing a characteristically loud brilliant sound with running melodic lines in the guitar (2019: 37). The ensemble's name honors Tito Francia, a Mendocino guitarist who established the "Cuyano" sound in the mid- 20th century and carries importance as a local historical figure in the city even today. Francia played on the radio regularly and performed with numerous musicians across a wide variety of genres, including folkloric styles, tango, and jazz. He participated in the 1963 *Nuevo Cancionero*[44] movement, founded in Mendoza by a group of musicians and poets who sought to reform música popular throughout the country and to engage in social critique (García 2003: 252). One of the orchestra's co-directors, Sergio Santi, studied with Francia before his death in 2004.[45] Francia shared his vision with Santi of creating an ensemble in Mendoza that would perform international styles with a local sound. Santi recruited Pablo Budini as a co-director and together they sought to fulfill Francia's dream posthumously.

[43] Most notably, harmonies from Cuyo include thirds, sixths, and sometimes octaves below the melodic line.

[44] The *Nuevo Cancionero* Movement officially began in Mendoza with a manifesto signed by renowned artists and musicians including Tito Francia, Mercedes Sosa, and Armando Tejada Gómez, among others. Artists of the movement hoped to reform folkloric music styles and lyrics in the country to become more relevant to current economic and political conditions of Argentine citizens. In addition, artists added extended harmonies to folkloric styles, complicating the musical structure (García, 2003: 264). For further reading on the movement, see Díaz 2016, Mansilla 2011, Portorrico 2015.

[45] Adrián Santi, personal communication, September 22, 2019.

Figure 4: The Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra performing in Plaza Unimev, Guaymallén for a state-sponsored May 25th celebration. All stage and sound equipment were provided and set up prior to the orchestra's arrival. Photo taken by author, 2017.

Securing a contract with a municipality took multiple proposals after the guitar orchestra began rehearsing in April of 2013, suggesting that the orchestra's expediency was not readily apparent to local governments. Santi and Budini discussed their ensemble concept with various municipalities or city regions around the province's capital city of Mendoza. Eventually, the Municipality of Guaymallén, the most densely populated department (county) of the province just east of the city center, agreed to sponsor the orchestra. As part of the resulting contract, the municipality also agreed to create a youth guitar orchestra of similar size which would be led by the professional orchestra's two assistant directors. The youth orchestra would inspire and train young performers at no cost, with the most dedicated students eventually joining the professional group when

vacancies opened up.[46] According to the initial agreement, the two directors and two assistant directors received government employee status with a regular part-time salary and social benefits. The rest of the 27-member orchestra received a monthly stipend of 7,000 pesos (at the time, worth approximately USD $1,351), but the municipality would not recognize them as government employees and thus they would not receive benefits. This agreement originally worked well for both directors and members.[47] Especially for artists working full-time as portfolio musicians,[48] having a fixed and predictable salary each month helped them live more comfortably.[49] When I returned to Mendoza in 2017 I found that for the first time since the orchestra's founding in 2013, many members were feeling the effects of inflation from the growing economic crisis; the municipality had not adjusted their stipends to take into account the devaluation of the peso.[50] Several members also suggested they could not continue to work in the orchestra without receiving social benefits. Representative members eventually met with municipal officials to discuss changes to their contract, to be implemented in January of 2019. Initially, the municipality seemed amenable to finding a solution that would make everyone happy. Later, however, officials proposed a final contract and stated they could no longer make additional

[46] In 2018, one student from the youth ensemble became the first to join the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra (Adrián Santi, personal communication, December 27, 2019).
[47] The orchestra's members have been fairly stable in recent years. At its inception, several members had to leave the group for various reasons. While approximately 14 members have left since the orchestra's founding in 2013, only four have left in the last two years. Adrián Santi, personal communication, December 27, 2019.
[48] Portfolio' workers are freelance or independent workers who combine smaller contracts and projects to form their career (Gill 2002: 71).
[49] Anonymous Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra member #1, personal communication, January 7, 2020.
[50] Anonymous ensemble member #2, personal communication, February 10, 2020.

compromises.[51] Orchestra members had to decide whether they would accept the municipality's proposal, seek sponsorship elsewhere, or continue independently.

Figure 5: The Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra rehearses in the Centro Cultural Pascual Lauriente just prior to conducting a business meeting for all members to express their thoughts about Guaymallén's newly proposed contract. Photo taken by author, 2017.

The proposed contract did grant all orchestra members part-time government employee status, which provides an extra level of financial stability because it carries social benefits like health insurance, retirement support, and paid vacation time. However, the musicians' salaries did not significantly increase.[52] With the devaluation of the peso, their monthly income during my visit had shrunk to the equivalent of about USD $189 a month,

[51] Adrián Santi, personal communication, September 2018. Various members expressed their discontent with this aspect of the new contract, especially considering the high rates of inflation in recent years (anonymous ensemble member #2, personal communication, February 10, 2020; anonymous ensemble member #3, personal communication February 12, 2020). Others suggested that their salaries slightly increased due to the municipality recognizing their university degree (Leandro Riolobo, personal communication, January 8, 2020).

[52] Adrián Santi, personal communication, September 25, 2019.

roughly 13% of what they had earned previously.[53] Additionally, the municipality stipulated that as part-time employees they would need to work for the municipality at least 20 hours per week including rehearsal time, performances, recording sessions, or other activities. Previously, the orchestra rehearsed six hours per week and performed at municipal events whenever and wherever they were asked to perform, which averaged less than 20 hours per week. In other words, the orchestra needed to find more time each week to spend working for the city in some capacity to maintain their part-time status.

Other stipulations in the contract concerned ensemble members even more due to certain freedoms they would lose. The municipality requested the right to contract smaller combinations of orchestra members for certain events that did not have the space to accommodate the full group. One way in which orchestra members could reach their required 20 hours per week included performing in new instrumental combinations, since they would need more rehearsal time for small ensembles, and they would theoretically offer more performances.[54] Because Guaymallén provides sound, lighting, and stage crew for the guitar orchestra's performances, it would be cheaper for the municipality to invite smaller groups of musicians to *every* event, and not only the ones that truly could not hold the size of the orchestra. The directors worried that scheduling orchestra members in small groups would eventually result in the orchestra's dissolution, and that Tito Francia's dream of having a guitar orchestra in Mendoza would disappear with it.

[53] This is based on the official rate of exchange, which was close to 37 pesos to the dollar in January 2019, when the new contract with the municipality went into effect.
[54] Adrián Santi, personal communication, September 2018.

Lastly, if the municipality considered the artists as government employees rather than independent musicians on a stipend, they would have the power to transfer musicians to other unfilled positions if needed. As guitarist and co-assistant director Adrián Santi explained to me, the municipality might initially hire on members of the orchestra as musicians, but they could technically transfer them at any time to desk jobs such as secretarial positions.[55] Adrián and others in the orchestra worried that such an agreement might be an easy way for the municipality to end its sponsorship of the orchestra. While the local government's support allows musicians to engage in musical work and leave extra-musical work to stage crews and other municipal employees, the threat of a possible transfer to a job unrelated to music making was difficult for many to accept. Members discussed their concerns with one another at several post-rehearsal meetings, and in September of 2018, they decided that they would agree to the municipality's terms and accept the new contract. After speaking to many of them, it was evident to me that the majority agreed to the stipulations out of desperation for stable employment, not because they had confidence that the agreement would be best for the ensemble. Many felt more secure knowing that they had health benefits if they became injured, or if their spouse were to lose their job and thus the family's only prior social protections.[56] One musician in the group said he would prefer to prioritize musicianship, artistic freedom, and flexible

[55] As of this writing, the municipality has not requested that orchestra members engage in secretarial or desk work unrelated to music performance. They have requested some members compose new pieces for the orchestra and arrange existing pieces for the entire orchestra, in addition to work in smaller ensemble configurations (Adrían Santi, personal communication, September 2019). Despite the fact that this particular option in the contract has not been utilized, it has not lessened the unease that orchestra members continue to express.

[56] Marcos Ríos, personal communication, January 6, 2020.

schedules over social benefits. However, the pressure the municipality brought to bear on them to formalize the new arrangement meant members had little time to consider alternative options or to find a compromise.[57]

With the new conditions imposed by Guaymallén came new logistical problems for particular group members. For example, in addition to performing with the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra, one guitarist performs professionally on his own. He has a team of accompanying musicians, a production and recording crew, and a managerial staff who help organize tours and promote his performances through social media and other platforms. He regularly travels to perform in other provinces of Argentina and in other countries. He explained that the new contract required more hours of small ensemble work which made planning his trips difficult. Another member expressed similar frustrations about the difficulty of balancing other performance projects and teaching obligations with the extra rehearsal hours. He explained that it would not be much of an issue if the salary for the orchestra were higher[58] and was hopeful that the municipality would increase it in the coming years.[59] Additionally, because the contract made all members employees of the municipality instead of musicians on a stipend, it became less clear when they could skip rehearsals and events for other obligations. Before the formal institutionalization with benefits, ensemble members had a better idea which events were most important, and which could easily be offered to others or skipped without consequence. While one can

[57] Anonymous ensemble member #1, personal communication, February 6, 2020.
[58] Despite the low salary, another member suggested that the guitar orchestra was the only job he had with a predictable, fixed income every month, which was helpful for budgeting purposes (anonymous ensemble member #4, personal communication, January 7, 2020.
[59] Anonymous ensemble member #3, personal communication, February 12, 2020.

still ask permission to miss a given performance, the logistics of pursuing an independent career alongside municipally sponsored activities has become more complicated.[60] City sponsorship offers ensemble members more musical work, but at the expense of their independent artistic careers.

The Tito Francia Guitar orchestra in the Age of Expediency

The Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra is the first of its kind in Mendoza, and because of this Guaymallén benefits from sponsoring them. Firstly, the orchestra's versatility across various genres makes it appropriate for many local events. For example, the orchestra performed for the May 25th celebrations in a city park[61] to celebrate Argentina's first successful uprising against Spain in 1810. The group performed Argentina's national anthem there along with other local and nationalist songs. Guaymallén's Director of Culture and Tourism,[62] Lucas Valsecchi, explained that because of the ensemble's mastery of local Cuyano styles they are always the first group scheduled for any public ceremony.[63] The Tito Francia ensemble has also performed at Vendimia celebrations in the summer, Mendoza's most important tourist attraction. Guitarists perform local folkloric styles and popular international genres there, catering to diverse audiences as well as to local musical tastes.

[60] Anonymous ensemble member #1, personal communication, February 6, 2020.
[61] Parque del Barrio Unimev, Guaymallén, Mendoza, May 25, 2017.
[62] Valsecchi was the Director of Culture and Tourism at the time of interview, but his term ended when the new governor of Mendoza, Rodolfo Suárez, was elected in December 2019.
[63] Lucas Valsecchi, interview. September 20, 2019, Guaymallén.

The relationship between Tito Francia orchestra musicians and the municipality is a prime example of what Yúdice deems the expediency of culture. "A performative understanding of the expediency of culture," he writes, "focuses on the strategies implied in any invocation of culture, any invention of tradition, in relation to some purpose or goal" (2004: 38). The orchestra is not simply a commodity but rather a group of actors with distinct agendas, working alongside municipal actors with yet other agendas in order to achieve economic, political, or social gain. Although Yúdice suggests that the involvement of international organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has created "a new international division of cultural labor that imbricates local difference with transnational administration and investment," I argue that in this case local management alone, the Guaymallén municipality, also strives to promote transnational and local sentiments for political and economic profit. As Valsecchi explained in an interview, Guaymallén does not have geographical landmarks such as mountains and vineyards to attract tourists in the way that neighboring municipalities do.[64] Because of this, it relies on cultural tourism to bring in outside revenue (Rodríguez 2016). Guaymallén is the leading producer of sparkling wine in the province, though the general public does not always recognize this due to a lack of local product marketing. During his time in office, Valsecchi sought to include cultural offerings such as music and dance performances at every sparkling wine event, and vice versa, in order to raise awareness about local businesses. He explained his vision to me:

[64] For example, the neighboring municipalities of Las Heras, Godoy Cruz, Maipú and Lavalle.

> The people who typically go to wine events will end up asking "Who is singing?…Who are these artists? They are great." So we use a little bit of that interest, you know? Those who go there to seek out cultural events and to listen to a specific artistic group they know, they will end up drinking a fantastic sparkling wine, which they didn't expect, and asking where the wine is from, realizing it is made here.[65]

In this way, Guaymallén's wine industry is connected to performing arts in the region, and both support one another in raising the visibility of the local production. The Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra is well positioned to help with such an endeavor, even if the orchestra is not privy to the local government's goals. Adrián Santi suggested that the municipality generally only tells the orchestra when and where to perform, so they often end up left in the dark about its broader political or economic agenda.[66] Adrián did recognize that they were important to the municipality because they save them time and money with event planning. He explained that many sponsored events are disorganized and local officials plan for them at the very last minute; being forced to hire a new musical group for such events on short notice would cost more and be time intensive. Officials would also risk hiring sub-par performers because they would have to contract whoever happened to be available. An in-house, fully sponsored orchestra allows the municipality to call on the group at the last minute and schedule them for events while paying them the same monthly

[65] Lucas Valsecchi, interview. September 20, 2019, Guaymallén. "La gente que habitualmente iba a un evento para consumir vino, termina diciendo ¿quién está cantando, por favor?...¿Quiénes son ellos? Son buenísimos. Ye bueno, usamos un poco de eso, no, y los que van por ahí porque son viejos conocedores culturales que iban a ver a un cierto cuerpo artístico, termina tomando un espumante que no sólo esperaban, y diciendo ¿y este, de dónde es? Es de acá."

[66] Adrián Santi, Personal communication. October 12, 2020. Adrián also mentioned that this dynamic has been fluid over the years depending on the current governor and the Director of Culture and Tourism, but at least since the new contract went into effect, the norm has been to not know many details of the scheduled events.

salary. However, this was the municipality's only benefit to sponsoring the group that Adrián was aware of. As he told me, "[The only thing] we worry about is playing and sounding good!"[67] The municipality keeps the orchestra focused on their music and maintains their own agenda. The city never openly discusses the economic value of the orchestra to them either, leaving members with little leverage when negotiating changes to their contract. When asked about the ways in which the ensemble supports Guaymallén, Valsecchi explained that the group:

> is the most well-known expression of Cuyano music in Mendoza. We could say they are the *orquesta típica* of Cuyano music, the only one that exists, at least on such a large scale with 25 musicians playing together. Without fail, every time we mention that the [Tito Francia] Orchestra is going to perform at one of Guaymallén's events, fifty percent of the public in attendance goes just to see them.[68]

Because the orchestra is both unique in size and sound and has a large following, it ultimately serves to boost attendance at all events. Morgan Luker confirms that in the age of expediency, "cultural-policy making does not simply support culture but mobilizes and uses it in order to achieve particular political goals" (2016: 156). The ensemble is thus a powerful resource, providing more control over what sorts of events are well attended as well as generating more profit through entrance fees.

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[67] Andrián Santi, Personal communication. October 12, 2020. "¡Nosotros nos preocupamos de tocar y sonar bien!"

[68] Lucas Valsecchi, interview. September 20, 2019, Guaymallén "es la expresión de música cuyana más conocida en Mendoza, digamos la orquesta de música típica cuyana, la única que hay, digamos a esa escala, son 25 personas juntas, pero sin jugar a duda cada vez que se menciona que la orquesta va a estar en un evento de Guaymallén, 50% del público presente va, va sólo a verlos."

Figure 6: The Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra performing at the Teatro Independencia in Mendoza on October 4, 2019. This concert was added as a repetition of a sold-out performance that occurred in the same location the month prior. Photo taken by author.

The orchestra also serves as an economic resource throughout the region. It receives invitations to perform in other surrounding municipalities such as Rivadavia, Junín, and La Paz. The provincial government of Mendoza books them independently for some of their own cultural events.[69] As a municipally sponsored orchestra, Guaymallén negotiates all of these contracts rather than directly by the orchestra members.[70] Thus the orchestra's salary does not change, but additional bookings outside of Guaymallén bring in revenue for the local government. The implications of this arrangement between Guaymallén and the

[69] On September 13, 2019, the Orquesta de Guitarras Tito Francia performed at Mendoza's main theater with a capacity of over 700, the Teatro Independencia. The show was sold out, and due to many citizens calling the provincial government after the show to ask when the group would be performing the show again, the province decided to book a repeat of the performance for October 4 of the same year (Sergio Santi, Personal Communication, September 21, 2019).

[70] Lucas Valsecchi, interview. September 20, 2019, Guaymallén.

orchestra are twofold. Firstly, it changes the kind of work in which música popular musicians engage compared to their endeavors in other unofficial and privately-owned venues. More specifically, the municipality allows group members to pursue musical work because it provides additional support to take care of extra-musical tasks. However, this arrangement comes at the price to artistic freedom because the musicians do not choose when, where, or in some cases even what they perform. They also do not choose in what instrumental formats they perform, and the municipality expects them to prioritize contractual gigs over others. Since the municipality does not pay them a living wage, this limits the freedom musicians have both within and outside of the sponsorship agreement. It puts them in a position in which their work with the orchestra could turn into non-musical work at any time, potentially making their musical careers even more precarious. And as mentioned, the municipality's lack of transparency regarding the group's finances force musicians to tread lightly when negotiating contracts and salaries, because they are only aware of their own benefits and not those that accrue to the municipality. Musicians consequently do not feel they have leverage to argue for their financial and artistic needs because they cannot assess the mutually beneficial aspects of their employment to others.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined what appear to be very different kinds of undisclosed invisible work. While the manifestations of the municipality's undisclosed work contrast starkly with those of the underground performance scene, both involve withholding information for at least one actor to enjoy a greater benefit, and both affect a musician's

musical and extra-musical lives. Underground concerts give hosts and performers full artistic freedom to perform new, original, or 'non-traditional' compositions, but they are expected to undertake a significant amount of extra-musical work and assume financial risk at the same time. A formal institutionalized contract with local government allows individuals to focus more exclusively on performance, but their artistic freedom and entrepreneurial goals are constrained by the municipality's needs. Luker maintains that managerial regimes, which include both artists and local governments, reflect "a mode of engagement through which a diverse group of intention-filled actors can negotiate and lay claim to state (and other) power and vice versa" (2016: 179). Understanding the processes and effects of both kinds of undisclosed invisibilization will hopefully help artists weigh the benefits of different relationships to state organizations and pursue the musical career that best aligns with their aspirations in a neoliberal economy. If municipal sponsorship is possible and desirable, then understanding one's benefits to the local government may help in reducing the power imbalance during contract negotiations. In an economy with increasingly precarious work, a municipal sponsorship can offer stable benefits for musicians and their families. However, the municipality ultimately views musicians as an expedient resource. If the contracted artists can expose the municipality's priorities or agendas, or determine their economic value to such institutions, it will likely lead to fairer terms of employment.

Chapter 3: Unpaid. Musicians' Invisible Protest Work

Va cada ser a su paso	Everyone on their path
Hombre, mujer, niña, anciano	Man, woman, child, elderly
A defender nuestro suelo	To defend our soil
Con el futuro en sus manos	With the future in their hands
Una hermandad renaciendo	A brotherhood/sisterhood being reborn
Regando vida a su paso	Watering life in its wake
Sembrando un mundo más sano	Sowing [the seeds of] a healthier world
Contra la muerte, gritando	Against death, screaming
***	***
Somos un río creciente	We are a growing river
Cuando amenazan los caños	When they threaten the [water] pipes
Sabemos creyendo unides	We know, coming together united
Nadie detiene este paso	No one can stop us
Somos el río que desbordó su cauce	We are the river that overflowed its banks
Somos el agua que no se toca	We are the water that is not touched.

-Diego "Gucho" Guiñazú, "Somos el agua que no se toca"

The lyrics above are from the song "Somos el agua que no se toca" by Diego "Gucho" Guiñazú. It premiered on YouTube on October 10, 2020 and incorporates numerous musicians in the choruses.[71] Guiñazú's music video shows footage of water protests that erupted in Mendoza in December 2019. The sense of gravity reflected in the lyrics of his song mirrors the ongoing passion that many Mendocinos feel about this

[71] Listed artists include: Diego "Gucho" Guiñazú, Ballena, Cota Montaño, Nicolás Diez, Roma, Santiago Servera, Cintia "Chili" Bartolomé, Lautaro Guiñazú, Federica Bartolomé, Dúo Tardeagua, and Facundo Jofré. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JGiZuhXRxWo

precious resource. Anti-neoliberal movements like this one have led many artists to support causes important to them by working without financial compensation.

Invisible work often involves activities traditionally driven by volunteer or grassroots organizing. Although protests are not generally profit-generating events, artists devote additional time and effort to them. Music at protests and protest music in Latin America have been well documented (e.g., Pardes 2016; Bøhler 2017; Snyder 2020). However, few publications recognize musicians' efforts of organizing and performing at political events, likely because the literature on the sociology of work has historically ignored volunteerism (Kelemen, Mangan, and Moffat 2017: 1240). Furthermore, the vast majority of publications relating to unpaid work discuss gendered work disparities, especially with relation to women's work in domestic spheres, rather than as regards social activism or artistic expression (Picchio 2003; Ae-Kyung and O'Brien 2019; Singh and Pattanaik 2019; Sarker 2020). Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor's publication (2020) serves as one exception to addressing unpaid work in the creative industries; However, they primarily focus on younger workers in early stages of their careers engaging in precarious or unpaid working conditions, especially as the result of accepting internships and similar opportunities to gain experience. The protest context I discuss in this chapter has larger implications for how artistic work is perceived in relation to social activism and is largely applicable to artists across age and career stages. Sociologists have recently categorized four motivations for volunteer work: altruistic, instrumental, militant, and forced (Keleman, Mangan, and Moffat 2017). Altruistic volunteerism relates to donating work out of generosity, whereas instrumental volunteerism describes engaging in unpaid work for

personal benefits. Militant and forced volunteerism are both focused on the collective, with the former emphasis on activism for a unified cause and the latter related to employers or others requiring groups to volunteer. Unpaid protest performance falls into at least the first three of these categories, blurring the lines especially between instrumental and militant volunteerism. The authors explain that the overlapping typologies indicate changing motivations for volunteers at both individual and collective levels (2017: 1250). This is true in the case of artists in Mendoza who care deeply about social change and bettering their community while at the same time they strive to develop a personal reputation as a socially engaged artist. In this chapter, I consider the motivations, benefits, and repercussions of perceiving protest performance as unpaid and thus invisible musical work. It is important to note that I define unpaid as that work which lacks financial compensation, because as I argue later, musicians *do* often receive other forms of social gain from performing at these events. I discuss two prominent protest movements in contemporary Mendoza incited by neoliberal social and economic reform: 1) protests denouncing gender violence and inequality, and 2) protests condemning fracking and mega-mining in relation to water safety deregulation. Protest festivals fall on the hypervisible end of the (in)visibility spectrum, as musicians perform centerstage and often in crowded venues. However, musicians' commitments to improve their communities and their subsequent financial sacrifices to market and organize unpaid events frequently go unnoticed. Because of the perception of music as both a form of diversion and a profession, a leisurely activity and serious work, communities expect musicians with a social conscience to "do their part" in making the world a better place with or without compensation. Yet even if artists do not

receive a monetary gain for performing, they do accumulate moral capital and a heightened public profile from such events. I explore musicians' discourses surrounding free performance to suggest that self-entrepreneurship encourages alternative notions of compensation to develop one's personal and professional image.

Theorists for years have attempted to explain the social and economic pressures that lead people to act in particular ways, and Weber's discussion of capitalism in connection to the Protestant ethic serves as one example (2002 [1905]). Weber develops a model of economic change rooted in religious practices and related ideologies that is manifest in secular institutions such as families, schools, and government agencies. He emphasizes the importance of Protestants' focus on a life centered around work. Catholics in the past tended to view businessmen as greedy and as putting material wealth before devotion to God. Protestants, on the other hand, praised lives organized around long workdays and the accumulation of profit because they believe God favored the "chosen few" who achieved economic success. Over time, working hard and living frugally became routinized in Protestant life and thus perpetuated itself independently of religious motivations. While Argentina has predominantly Catholic roots, the pervasiveness of neoliberalist values in recent years has taught the population to prioritize working hard and striving for one's own financial success. Fridman's empirical work in Buenos Aires and New York suggests that Argentines use neoliberal rhetoric such as "freeing oneself" from the burden of formal employment roughly as often as their US counterparts (2016).

Wilkis writes on moral capital, a term that became popular among social and economic scholars in the early 21st century (2017). Building on Bourdieu, he suggests

moral capital is a subset of social capital that reveals power relations surrounding money (2017). Like Zelizer (2011), Wilkis argues that different kinds of money have different meanings and social relations. In his view, the neoliberal framework that shifted Argentina's economic system in the 1990s resulted in "job market exclusion—and the resulting dependence on informal and illegal monetary circuits, welfare, and so on" (2017: 20). Each of Wilkis's "pieces" of money, which include money lent, earned, donated, [invested] politically, sacrificed, and safeguarded suggest particular attitudes about money perceived by residents in the slums of Buenos Aires. In this chapter, I focus on what Wilkis refers to as sacrificed money.

Musicians who agree to perform at protest events without financial compensation prioritize moral capital over a direct currency exchange. Sacrificed money suggests "virtue of transcending material goods" (Wilkis 2017: 121). In Wilkis's example, a church volunteer sacrifices her salary to a church fundraising drive in order to gain moral capital from her local priest and move up in the social hierarchy of the church. In the context of musical protests, my data suggests that musicians sacrifice compensation when doing so aligns with their personal belief systems. Many of my interviewees were quick to note that they typically did not get paid for these kinds of events. In the few cases they were paid, interviewees added the disclaimer that they either did not know they would get paid beforehand or that they would have played regardless of financial compensation. Thus, even when speaking with someone who introduced herself as an ethnomusicologist studying musical *work* in Mendoza, the musicians to whom I spoke highlighted their moral

capital by foregrounding their willingness to perform for free to advance certain social agendas.

Many musicians also suggested that a successful career relied in part on unpaid performance to establish and maintain a personal image. In their survey of popular business texts written between 1980 and 2010, Vallas and Cummins find that "the marketing of one's own assets…is conjured as an essential source of human agency and empowerment. Here one finds the mantra that success in one's personal career can best be pursued by emulating the branding tactics for which large corporations are so well known" (2015: 303). As the neoliberal push for entrepreneurship and self-fulfillment through freelance or short-term employment continues to grow, musicians must increasingly think about their personal image as they choose jobs. Such decisions pervade their personal lives as well and may involve consideration of what they stand for or who they associate with as well as where they perform. Ironically, artists' accumulation of moral capital can establish their credentials as resistant to neoliberal economic shifts by bringing attention to corporate malfeasance while simultaneously subscribing to a broader neoliberal ethos that drives the *homo economicus.*

PROTEST AND MUSICAL PROTEST IN ARGENTINA AND ELSEWHERE

The protest events that I discuss below are part of a much larger movement in Argentina, Latin America, and other parts of the world that resists increasingly ubiquitous neoliberal conditions. Eduardo Silva (2009) argues that many Latin American countries saw an increase in demonstrations against free market reforms in the 1990s and early

2000s. The reason that these protests became so pronounced, Silva suggests, is because many smaller groups with varied agendas unified out of a common interest in blaming free-markets and privatization as the root of all of their problems. These horizontal linkages, as Silva calls them, help citizens unite, increase momentum for their causes, and push for more government involvement in certain areas of social and economic life. For example, Bolivia's New Economic Policy in 1985 created economic hardship for rural and urban citizens alike through a series of free market reforms and privatization (Silva 2009: 106-10). The peso was devalued, interest rates were destabilized, and the public sector downsized. The formal job market shrank, and many were forced to find work informally. Field laborers became contract workers without benefits or stability, and the inflation of prices for basic goods was difficult for many. Consequently, Bolivia saw mass mobilizations with disparate groups coming together against the common enemy of neoliberal reform. In 1990, Ecuador experienced similar days of mass mobilizations and strikes over the transportation of produce and other goods. This was due to various unions and indigenous populations protesting a series of neoliberal reforms from the prior decade (Silva 2009: 156). Silva discusses similar case studies in Venezuela, Peru, Chile, and Argentina during the same period.

Scholars have suggested that incorporating music into social mobilizations can contribute to political change, and in many cases does so more effectively than marches and demonstrations alone. For instance, Kjetil Bøhler's work in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America demonstrates the social power of musical protest, allowing activists to participate in the streets for long periods of time due to musical aesthetics (2017). In Brazil,

Andrew Snyder explains how "an examination of musical protest in relation to the sonic force of instrumental ensembles and their strategic musical choices enriches the ways we might understand music to express political power" (2020: 29). He suggests that brass bands performing Carnival repertoire communicate a political symbolism through their music that advances anti-neoliberal sentiment. Similarly, rock bands in Ecuador such as Aztra and Curare contributed to the indigenous movement in that country in the 1990s and early 2000s, incorporating political symbolism in their music written in response to labor rights violations and other side effects of neoliberal reform (Kaltmeier 2019: 185). Lastly, Luis Duarte (2019) discusses two common themes of musical protest in Nicaragua in the 1990s and early 2000s, the same two major issues I discuss in Mendoza: the environment and gender equality. He argues that both of these examples ultimately relate to the neoliberal reforms undertaken in Nicaragua after the *Sandinista* Revolution (159).

Recent protest movements in Argentina have similarly focused on neoliberal reform as the genesis of a variety of problems. For example, with respect to increased insecurities and regulation of public space in Buenos Aires, Mariana Pardes has written about how *murga* ensembles serve as an important locus of protest (2016). Similarly, Michael O'Brien discusses the expansion of the *bombo* making industry in the early 2000s immediately following Argentina's first neoliberal turn, suggesting the pervasiveness of using them in murgas as a symbol of political resistance (2018). Institutes of higher education have vehemently pushed back against budget cuts to university resources. Faculty, staff, and students use protest music to share their discontent with local communities and through the internet. Members of CONICET, the government

organization that coordinates most scientific and social science research projects at universities, have released multiple high-quality, studio-recorded music videos whose lyrics bring awareness to science research budget cuts. They also sing about the detrimental effects of neoliberalism on knowledge production in the country more generally.[72] Additionally, affiliates of music schools have taken advantage of their training to perform protest music in local communities. In early 2018, for instance, the School of Music at UNCuyo went on strike for several months in response to a series of cuts to professorial salaries and other university programming. During their hiatus from classes, music students gave performances throughout Mendoza that emphasized the university's crucial role in the community and demanded adequate resources to support academic programs.

In sum, Latin America has seen mobilizations against neoliberal reform since at least the 1980s, and the musicians protesting such trends are part of a long history in the region of denouncing human rights violations and inequality. In the 1960s and 1970s, for example, most Latin American nations participated in some form of the *Nueva Canción* movement. Led most prominently by Victor Jara in Chile, participating artists denounced poor labor conditions in factories, the exclusion of indigenous populations from social and political life, and rejected the influence of commercialism and cultural imperialism, among other issues. Neoliberal reforms have spurred pushback against many of the same issues in contemporary Latin America. My analysis of gender rights and environmental protest in Mendoza below thus constitute parts of a much larger trend.

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[72] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8u7LwVCbNC4j; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8wjNvw0zYXA

GENDER

Social movements promoting gender equality have become stronger in Argentina, especially in the last five years. In 2015, after several years of increasing media coverage of rising femicide, the killing of a pregnant teenager by her boyfriend initiated a country-wide march on June 3 (Liska 2020: 3). The ongoing movement, known as *#NiUnaMenos* (Not one [woman] less), quickly spread to many other Latin American countries, which together represent the region with the highest rate of femicide in the world (Del Río 2016: 2). Additionally, the National Campaign for the Right to a Safe, Free, and Legal Abortion[73] began in the early 2000s but gained traction when the Argentine legislature proposed a bill in 2018 to legalize the procedure. Some refer to this movement as the "green wave" because feminists initiated a mass movement in the streets and on social media, manifesting their support by wearing the National Campaign's green bandanas. Although the bill did not pass at the time, many women and supporters continued to rally for policy changes regarding reproductive rights immediately following the failed 2018 bill and throughout the period of my fieldwork in 2019-2020. In December 2020, activists supported a similar bill to legalize abortion, and this time the National Congress approved it. The law went into effect on January 24, 2021. In the next chapter, I discuss the musical collectives that formed together in support of gender representation issues. Here, I focus on the invisible work of musicians in connection to these social movements. During my time in Mendoza, various protest concerts included demands of justice and equality for women. I discuss two

[73] http://www.abortolegal.com.ar/about/

prominent performances and the role of unpaid musicians in each: the *Festival por el Aborto Legal* (Festival for Legal Abortion) and the *Festival por una Universidad Feminista y Disidente* (Festival for a Dissident and Feminist University).

The Festival for Legal Abortion took place in the amphitheater of Mendoza's central Plaza Independencia on September 27, 2019. Green bandanas filled the stands. Organized by the National Campaign for the Right to a Legal, Safe, and Free Abortion, the festival featured six music groups and various speakers. The musicians performed a wide variety of styles, everything from computer music to *candombe* to *rock nacional*.[74] Many musicians performed songs related to gender violence or equality, demonstrating a commitment to the goals of the festival. Before starting a cumbia-influenced electronic set with computer backing, one of the invited artists, Clau Terra, performed a spoken word piece that referenced her fight for diversity, equality, and inclusion:

Invisibilizada	Invisibilized
Una revolución envejece con digninad	A revolution ageing with dignity
Les habían perseguidas por besarse en una plaza	They were persecuted for kissing in a plaza
Yo quiero que mi baby crezca en diversidad	I want my baby raised in diversity
Con un feminismo transfeminista, interracial y plurinacional	With a transfeminist, interracial, and plurinational feminism
¿Por somos quién para juzgarlos	For who are we to judge
que las cuerpas quieren expresar?	What [other] bodies want to express?
Si no, mirá a tu historia,	If not, look at your own history
cada una es particular	every person/woman is their own
Y ahí a lo colectivo	And from there to the collective,
las desinencias estamos acá	the suffixes, we are here
Preparadas para luchar, somos cuerpas rebeldes	Prepared to fight, we are rebel bodies
Que estamos en contra de la trata,	That are against trafficking,

[74] *Candombe* is an Afro-Uruguayan drumming tradition that has become an important symbol of political resistance in Buenos Aires and other parts of Argentina, especially among youth (Lamborghini 2017: 115). *Rock nacional* became popular in the 1960s and 70s, right before Argentina's military dictatorship, and it similarly carries connotations of resistance and freedom for young people (Manzano 2014).

Del odio racial, del lesboodio, del transodio,	Against racial, lesbian and trans-hatred
de todas las formas de odio	Against all forms of hatred
menos al macho opresor	except that of the oppressive macho
Igual, sigo soñando con un mundo de paz.	Even so, I still dream of a world of peace.

During another song, Clau Terra inserts, "the discourse [in my music] needs to be analyzed, no?"[75] The artist suggests that her music is not only for leisurely enjoyment but also important conceptually, and to the cause for which she is fighting. Many artists performing in protest concerts similarly wrote original pieces that discussed contemporary social issues. In this way, their performance serves not only as entertainment, but also communicates messages related to the social cause.[76]

Although this particular festival *did* pay the participating artists, Lucía Miremont, another artist on the festival lineup, explained that like most protest concert events she had no expectations for remuneration when she agreed to perform. She recalled, "in reality from the beginning, [the organizers] did not mention anything about money, I was going to participate regardless."[77] When asked why she would agree to work without compensation, she replied, "I know that these movements are very self-entrepreneurial. I know that protests are one form of collaborative work that does not have economic remuneration, so I also understand in that situation [there are no available funds], and in

[75] "¿El discurso hay que analizar, no?" Festival por el aborto legal, Plaza Independencia, September 27, 2019.
[76] For example, see Clau Terra's "Chica Grande" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cjpjcbqYC5M; Camila Millán's "Mujeres al alba" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YxgZEzbYWsM; and Daniela Trovati's "La flor que te perdiste" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x78TAqIfbyo. As these three examples reflect, the musical styles performed in these protest events varies widely.
[77] "En realidad de principio no me hablaron de dinero y yo de todas maneras iba a participar." Lucía Miremont, personal communication, July 9, 2020.

the same spirit I make a physical and musical contribution."[78] Miremont's response reflects a commitment to contributing towards a more just society, even if it means that she will not receive compensation for her time and work. She also embraces the idea of self-entrepreneurship and accepts the responsibility of helping her community's efforts for social change. Because protest events often only ask for voluntary contributions from audience members rather than requiring entrance fees, the musicians agree to play without a written contract or promise of renumeration. In this way, artists simultaneously adopt a neoliberal ethos that assumes how certain events must necessarily operate, while they also represent causes important to them. Miremont clearly acknowledged her commitment to women's rights and how her music aligned with her social priorities: "with my music, I feel that I [can contribute] … I know that I am in agreement with the cause and will reach many women and non-binary, trans, and transvestite people. My music is created from and for feminism, and it is one of the ways I can use it [for change] … I love sharing what I do in those spaces."[79] Thus, Miremont's personal marketization as a female solo artist and member of an all-female, lesbian band drives her to write and perform music for and about queer identities. Protest concerts that support women's rights such as the Festival for Legal Abortion mesh perfectly with Miremont's personal image, and consequently she loves

[78] "Sé que estas movidas son super autogestivas. Sé que la militancia es una instancia de trabajo colaborativo que no tiene remuneración económica, entonces comprendo también esa situación y de esa misma manera yo hago mi aporte físico y musical." Lucía Miremont, personal communication, July 9, 2020.

[79] "con mi música, siento que estoy pudiendo estar presente y sé que estoy acuerdo con la causa y hacerle de llegar a muchas mujeres y no binaries, trans, y travesties que mi música es pensada desde y para el femenismo, y es una de las maneras que tengo de habilitarlo digamos…amo compartir lo que hago en esos espacios." Lucía Miremont, personal communication, July 9, 2020.

performing there because she can reach larger audiences who share common beliefs, while also advancing a human rights agenda.

Figure 7: Lucía Miremont performs at the Festival for Legal Abortion at Plaza Independencia. September 2019, photo taken by author.

The Festival for a Dissident and Feminist University took place on October 4, 2019 in an open-air space within the UNCuyo campus. The Commission of Women and Dissident Identities[80] organized the festival as a pre-conference event to the National Women's Conference occurring on campus the same week. There were eight groups on the lineup, two of which also performed at the Festival for Legal Abortion. Although the

[80] Comisión de Mujeres e Identidades Disidentes FCPyS-UNCuyo: https://www.facebook.com/comisiondemujeresuncuyo/?eid=ARDWkqhGMFjx5h6Ms6zQlh7HGi8AKwR9gi-498vfgp8a4fah4APbfCkJkhEUMPRid1hzm3VIKIm5eY2y.

festival was free to attend, organizers circulated among audience members, asking for a contribution in exchange for a sticker that read "#FueraMachos (Out with *machos*). On the event description passed around social media, the organizers wrote "all of us [gender-inclusive language] will share a Spring afternoon together with bands, vendors, drinks and more in support of whistleblowers, to eradicate machista violence from the UNCuyo."[81] Indira was one of the groups that performed. A rock group comprised of three lesbian musicians, Indira formed in 2000 and performed at the first National Women's Conference in Mendoza that year. Two decades later, the group continues to appear at women's rights events in Mendoza and surrounding areas. The percussionist of the group, Gisela Levin, explained that her band was invited to play at the university event because the organizers knew her since she worked as a professor in the audiovisual production department at UNCuyo. When asked if the band receives payment for these types of gigs fighting for women's rights, she replied, "well, obviously they need to have sound [equipment], so that you have to bring as little as possible of your own things…[they] give you the minimum necessities so that you can participate, but in general, there is no payment for the performance…no, more than anything it is a contribution on our part."[82] Levin's explanation reveals that she considers providing a sound system and other necessary performance equipment a type of remuneration. While the music itself is donated, she

[81] "Compartiremos todes una tarde de primavera junto con bandas, feriantes, bebdas y más en apoyo a las denunciantes, para erradicar la violencia machista de a UNCuyo." Facebook event page, "Fesitval en apoyo a las denunciantes del a UNCuyo." https://www.facebook.com/events/368277760793391/.

[82] "bueno, obviamente que tengan sonido, que tengas que trasladar lo menos possible de tus cosas…dartelas lo mínimo indispensable para que puedas participar, pero en general, no hay un caché para la actuación…no, es más que nada una colaboración del parte de nosotras." Gisela Levin, personal communication, July 9, 2020.

suggests it is worth it as long as her band members do not have to do extra-musical work such as lugging equipment and monitoring sound. She explained why she feels it is important to play regardless of whether she receives a paycheck:

> We are dedicated to the cause and we want them to listen to our opinion too. And the only way they will hear us is in the street. The tactic that we have, [this goes for] women I believe all around the world, is by making ourselves visible in the streets, in public spaces. It has to do with that… making ourselves visible in this way, and also with all of us getting together, meeting together, meeting each other and forming bonds with one another.[83]

Figure 8: Rock group Indira performs at Festival for a Dissident and Feminist University. UNCuyo campus in October 2019. Photo taken by author.

[83] "Estamos comprometidas con la causa porque nosotras también queremos que se escuche a nuestra opinión, y porque la única forma de también de que nos escuche es estar en la calle. La forma de reclamo que tenemos, las mujeres yo creo alrededor al mundo, es a través de hacernos visibles en las calles, en los espacio públicos. Entonces tiene que ver con eso…con hacernos visible de esa manera, y también con encontrarnos, reunirnos, conocernos, y vincularnos." Gisela Levin, personal communication, July 9, 2020.

Levin's quote suggests that visibilizing the invisible, stigmatized groups she advocates for requires invisible work in the sense that it is unpaid. Although the event aims to visibilize the presence of women and the trans community and protesters fight for their equal treatment in places of employment, artists generally assume they must make financial sacrifices in order to participate. Musicians' unpaid participation has a moral and social value for participants and organizers, which at the same time invisibilizes music as 'productive' work in the Smithian sense of profit-generating. Still, Levin implies that there is a non-financial benefit she gains through participation at protest events, which includes connection to other like-minded artists and a sense of growing the movement together.

WATER

Water in Mendoza has become a contentious issue, especially over the last decade, as the region suffers from its worst drought in at least 100 years (Dimaría 2019). An arid region under the best of circumstances, Mendoza relies on melted snow runoff from the Andes for its clean water supply. However, in recent years new policies have allowed certain economic activities to flourish that many Mendocinos believe threaten their already dwindling water resources. Most notably, Mendoza's government legalized fracking in certain departments in 2017 and throughout the province the following year (Rocha 2019). Due to Argentina's current economic crisis, the government presented fracking as a promising source of revenue, despite its high water usage and the fact that it pollutes water with toxic chemicals as part of the oil-extracting process. Various protests occurred in Mendoza when fracking began, but the fight against water contamination intensified in late

December 2019 when the governor initiated a modification of the 2007 water law 7722. Many Mendocinos and environmental activists worried that changes to this law, which prohibited the use of toxic chemicals for metalliferous mining in the province, would eventually allow cyanide and other lethal agents to seep into Mendoza's groundwater supply, affecting not only the health of residents but also the future of the wine and agricultural economies. Artists organized various performances in order to bring awareness to the issue, and they have also used their platform as public figures to speak about the law on stage. As essential performers in the *Vendimia*, Mendoza's national grape harvest festival and largest tourist event (discussed in Chapter 5), musicians and dancers threatened to boycott it in 2020 if the governor's decision to modify 7722 was not reversed. After days of intense social outcry and masses of rural Mendocinos marching overnight into the capital to join the protests, Governor Suárez announced that he would rescind the modification of the water protection law and did so in early January. Nevertheless, environmental activists continue to rally for clean water with protests, concerts, flyers, and street art. Since the Vendimia is such an important tourist attraction and revenue-generating event, many worried that the governor was only temporarily suspending his modification until the Vendimia ended in early March. Additionally, ongoing protests allowed the anti-fracking movement to gain additional strength and supporters.

In January 2020, a group of artists created the hashtag #Arteporelagua (Art for the water) on social media platforms to disseminate water information and advertise protest events, including their own performances. I use two art-focused events associated with #Arteporelagua as case studies to reveal the unpaid work of artists in this context. I first

consider a theatrical and musical performance in Mendoza's Central Park on January 31, 2020, and secondly a concert at an environmentally-friendly bar and café in the popular weekend-getaway town of Potrerillos on February 23, 2020.

Figure 9: #Arteporelagua's protest banner on construction barriers around Mendoza's legislative building downtown. The banner reads, "We are the river (that overflowed its banks)" and "join the cause" in the bottom left corner. The "o" in "río" is formed with #Arteporelagua's logo. February 2020, photo taken by author.

"La rebelión de las hojas" (Rebellion of the Leaves), described on flyers as a "performative spectacle for water" took place in Mendoza's Central Park and featured more than 70 artists. This theatrical performance re-enacted various prior events, including

the government administration's voting to modify the 7722 law without regard for its impact on Mendocinos' health. The show combined brief comedic acts with musical performances, dancing, and protest chants heard in the streets weeks earlier, such as "fuera, fuera, fuera fracking, fuera" (Out, out, out, fracking, out) and "el agua de Mendoza no se negocia" (The water of Mendoza is non-negotiable).

Figure 10: Rebelión de las hojas performance in Mendoza's Central Park, adjacent to the park's pond. January 2020, photo taken by author.

Significantly, the various acts took place around Central Park's pond, so audience members were constantly reminded of Mendoza's precious resource while different small acts sprung up on every bank. As a viewer, I interpreted the pond as the center stage since I was constantly looking across the water to view various theatrical or musical acts. Organizers

communicated important messages through their musical selections, which included both live and recorded songs. In general, songs discussing Mendocinos and contemporary events were performed live and in Spanish, while recordings consisted mostly of English-language repertoire that accompanied theatrical scenes such as when the government and/or mining companies let their greed adversely affect the future of Mendoza's water. The lyrics of music in the event contrasted representations of Western neoliberal forces emphasizing the importance of economic gain with those of everyday people fighting for their health and safety. Actors representing the government and mining companies frolicked around, throwing fake dollar bills in the air while a recording played in the background of "Money Makes the World Go Round" from the musical *Cabaret.* By contrast, actors who represented the indigenous peoples of Argentina (many of whom are already affected by dire water shortages and the contamination of the rural towns they were forced into during colonization) performed a live version of Víctor Jara's "Manifiesto," an important working-class anthem from the Chilean socialist party (Unidad Popular) of the 1970s. The live rendition of this piece incorporated indigenous-derived instruments like the *quena* flute and *bombo* drum, further representing localness and the interests of the people. Recorded songs distanced music-making from the people, as they were played through a machine; the obvious obsession with money in the lyrics of songs chosen as well as the English language (associated with imperialism and globalization) evoked a strong sense of neoliberal as opposed to local interests. Fabián Castellani, one of the event's organizers, coordinators, and actors explained that it was important to stage this show even after the restitution of the water protection law. He noted that only widespread public

outcry had made Suárez overturn his original ruling. According to Castellani, event participants more than anything else hoped to underscore that their primary objective was to convey to audiences that "the interests of mining companies and public representatives continue to be the same and if we stop caring, they will try [to take advantage of us] again."[84]

Although "La rebelión de las hojas" was attended by several hundred people, the artists' planning, preparation, and execution were largely invisible due to the unpaid nature of their work. Castellani explained, "while people were [marching] in the streets for the restitution of the 7722 law, I decided that those of us who create art should get together with a proposal for something in the open air to demonstrate that artists in Mendoza also [supported them]."[85] Castellani's sense that artists should come together and show solidarity as a collective demonstrates the social obligations that performers feel in neoliberal society. Wilkis suggests that his concept of moral capital can replace other sorts of gain at times. He explains, "the moral component of moral capital…depends on meeting social obligations in order to have one's virtues acknowledged by others. In this regard, moral capital creates a social ranking: the more of it you have, the more benefits you will reap in a given society" (2018:10).[86] Castellani's rhetoric suggests that artists seek moral

[84] "Recordar sobre todo, que los intereses de empresarios mineros y funcionarios públicos siguen siendo los mismos y que si nos descuidamos, volverán a intentarlo." Fabián Castellani, personal communication, February 27, 2020.

[85] "En los días en los que se estaba luchando en la calle por la restitución de la ley 7722 pensé que quienes hacemos arte debíamos sumarnos con una propuesta en espacio abierto para demostrar que el colectivo de artistas de Mendoza estaba en desacuerdo con tal derogación." Fabián Castellani, personal communication, February 27, 2020.

[86] In Wilkis's model, altruism is included in the same power hierarchies that manifest with the accumulation of moral capital. In other words, despite one's perceived or desired intentions, morally driven actions change social relationships.

rather than economic capital in this context, fighting against the norms of neoliberal society and ultimately increasing their own social power through unpaid work. Instead of simply joining street marches, musicians and other artists came together and organized an elaborate performance to educate, entertain, and stand in solidarity with others. Castellani explained the importance of incorporating performance into the water protests: "It is a different way to fight, and one that is more enjoyable. And it is a fight that turns symbolic immediately. Also, it is the way in which artists approach the world and its complications. Our most familiar expression will always be the theatrical [and musical] work as a response to the problems of reality."[87] In his response, Castellani conflates protest work with all other forms of theatrical performance. He implies that artists protested the modification of the 7722 law because they knew it was the right thing to do, and they wanted to express themselves in the most effective way. He does not mention the fact that this performance was unpaid, thus suggesting that all artistic work is first and foremost a morally driven social commitment rather than a means of subsistence. Castellani presents artists' protest work as a typical community event, consequently invisibilizing the long hours of organization, preparation, and performance that participants donated to the cause. The ambivalent division between leisure and work in the neoliberal era and especially within the arts makes it easier for performers and others to justify their efforts as beneficial to the community and not requiring compensation. Castellani's suggestion that incorporating

[87] "Es otra manera de luchar, incluso más agradable. Y es una lucha que se vuelve inmediatamente simbólica. Además, es de la forma que les [sic] artistas enfrentamos el mundo y sus complicaciones. Nuestra expression más cercana será siempre la del hecho teatral como respuesta a los problemas de la realidad." Fabián Castellani, personal communication, February 27, 2020.

artistic elements into protests were more “enjoyable” also suggests that the community and performers alike find it gratifying to come together in this way, transforming their work from an economic transaction into a form of entertainment for all.

Figure 11: Children hold up signs that read "The water is our future." Taken after the Rebelión de las hojas performance in Mendoza's Central Park. January 2020, photo taken by author.

Artists’ unpaid invisible work in protests consequently changes the perception of music as (not) work and hinders opportunities for future paid employment. Many view performances as both a hobby and a job, so when artists agree to play for free, contractors and other employers conceptualize musicians’ efforts as leisure and undeserving of financial remuneration. Crain explains that workers’ conflation of their personal choices about attire with their required work duties (i.e., being asked by employers to wear

particular kinds of branded clothing on the job), which is often the case among those working in clothing retail, affects the ways in which employers treat workers. She writes that "although individual workers often embrace these practices rather than resist them, the failure to conceptualize these activities as labor and these actors as workers harms workers as a class, reducing waged income and subtly shaping political consciousness by commercializing identity and marketizing voice" (2016: 259). The effect Crain describes is similar to that of artists who willingly perform for certain kinds of events (read: with social importance) without remuneration. Because the general public associates music and performance as a form of leisure, and artists present it as such at unpaid events, venue hosts and other employers of performers more easily take advantage of artistic work. Often, they may frame their invitations to perform an opportunity for musicians to 'gain experience' or 'exposure' rather than offering to compensate them fairly for serious work. Musicians and others know that the water protests are an important and timely issue in the Mendocino community. The collective pressure they experience to perform a social service through unpaid performance ultimately frames their efforts as mere entertainment. Neoliberal economic and social shifts have increased the number of artists who proactively take their music careers into their own hands and attempt to commoditize their identity. In fact, self-entrepreneurship has increased in various industries of late (Fritsch, Kritikos, and Sorgner 2015; Correa 2016; Premand et. Al. 2016; Rosenfield 2018). Argentine musicians similarly expressed to me that uncompensated performances were required for an artist to achieve success in an increasingly privatized, contract-based environment. Fernando Lucero, a part-time secondary school English teacher and part-time composer/musician explained

that the buzz word among Mendocino musicians today is "*autogestionar*" (roughly, self-management). He noted, "today, I see [self-management] very present, it is being taken very seriously…and not just for a few people, but for everyone."[88] Self-management merges one's personal lifeworld with one's profession into a collective image suggesting what that person values. Thus, participating in protests that advance causes important to the broader Mendocino society ultimately helps musicians develop their professional profile, something they want fans and future employers to notice. Although the public physically sees their participation in the event, they do not necessarily see it as work and consequently take the invisible unpaid effort associated with it for granted.

The "Ciclo de Celebraciones del Agua" (Water Celebrations Series) took place in the weekend getaway town of Potrerillos (about 60 km southwest of the province's capital city). The location of this concert carries significance for a couple of reasons. First, performers played on the outdoor stage of "El Origen de i," a café/bar completely reliant on solar panels for electricity. According to the cover page on their menu, El Origen de i[89] is the only self-sustainable and eco-friendly café/bar in Argentina. It does not have a phone or internet connection, uses non-potable water in the restrooms, and filters wastewater to use for plant watering.[90] Secondly, the café/bar is located on a hill, which overlooks the

[88] "Hoy por hoy, la veo muy presente, se está tomando muy en serio…Y no para unos pocos, es para todos." Fernando Lucero, personal communication, November 17, 2019.

[89] According to their Facebook page, the name of the café (The Origin of i) pays homage to the owners' grandmother, Isidora Moyano, who was born in the mountains where the restaurant is now located and always hoped to build something there.

[90] The marketing of El Origen de i and their actual practices do not completely align; When I asked the employee of the café where to recycle the plastic water bottle that I had bought from them, they told me that they do not currently recycle and my only option was to throw it in the trash or carry it back with me to the city. I do not share this anecdote with intentions of nullifying the environmental work that they *are* doing. Instead, I bring to light the discrepancies between their intentions and reality to suggest that there are

Potrerillos dam, a human-built reservoir for storing Mendoza's drinking water after it melts and runs out of the mountains (Michoud et al 2016: 452). Similar to the performance in Central Park around the pond, this event's location allowed its audience to view a large body of Mendoza's most precious resource. In addition to the significance of the location, some artists performed original works at the café directly related to water issues or celebrating water more generally. Silvina Inés sung an original piece with the sound of water streams playing through an amplified laptop in the background.[91]

Figure 12: Silvina Inés performs at the Water Celebration Series on the patio stage of El Origen del i, with the Potrerillos Dam in the background. February 2020, photo taken by author.

imperfections and contradictions with most environmental work that I witnessed during my fieldwork. Although this is a topic that merits more study, in the current project it is worth noting that the water protests in Mendoza are indeed important, and I do not hope to romanticize or misconstrue artists' work in this realm.

[91] Water has appeared in many Mendocino musicians' pieces as an important theme for years, so it is not uncommon to hear water-related compositions at water protest events, again reinforcing the activist messages of the events. For example, see Analía Garcetti's "Como agua arroyita" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ixMWekb5LPw; Cristina Pérez's "Cantar al agua" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HFgsXKUe8vY; Daniela Trovati's "Resuena el arroyo"

Self-management and voluntary collaboration are common topics of discussion for #Arteporelagua, and they reflect the importance of securing payment even at socially engaged events. One of the organizers of #Arteporelagua, who also worked at El Origen de i, spoke about the collective's objectives before the performances and explained that this was one way artists have come together to fight for Mendoza. She also asked for voluntary donations to keep the collective going: "Everything that we are doing, all of these interventions, we need money to support it, to continue doing things, because the truth is, well, —self-management—guys, we don't have subsidies or anything like that, so in order to keep going, we are collecting money."[92] In other words, even though El Origen de i provided the performance space, the artists worked together but without outside support to continue raising awareness about the importance of clean water. The speaker did not explain exactly who would use the requested money or how it would help contribute to the larger water issue, but she underscored the unpaid nature of artists' work. The music was going to happen either way because the cause was presumably important to the performers, but donations would acknowledge and value the artistic effort and would ultimately allow musicians to continue performing for the cause. The hostess's use of gender-inclusive language implicitly put her in a specific social circle in Argentina that actively fights for human rights and equality on various fronts, including women's rights as discussed earlier.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qtkyMgb-mns; and Polo Martí's "Canción de los sueños de agua" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=09n-3WXzs3o.

[92] "Todo lo que estamos haciendo, todas estas intervenciones, necesitamos plata para soportarla, para seguir haciendo cosas, porque la verdad es que, bueno, autogestión chiques, no tenemos subsidios ni nada por el estilo, entonces para seguir haciendo, estamos juntando…plata." Ciclo de celebraciones del agua, El Origen de i, Potrerillos, Luján de Cuyo, February 23, 2020.

All of these issues, which are interlinked with neoliberal social and economic shifts, come together in many artists' profiles that speak to their personal marketing, moral capital, and social values. Though gender equality and access to safe water seem to be drastically different problems, their sources both stem from politicians and corporations ultimately valuing money and the economy over people's health and well-being.

VENDIMIA PROTESTS

In addition to the protest concerts and festivals described above, artists used their platform in the spotlight to protest at annual Vendimia events. The first large takeover of a 2020 Vendimia stage occurred at Maipú's departmental Vendimia, when protesters snuck past security and ran onstage with a large banner that read "*La Ley 7722 No Se Toca*" (Law 7722 cannot be changed). Almost immediately after rolling out the banner onstage, security guards ran to them, grabbing the banner to take it down. Several artists who were on the stage attempted to help the protesters, and the confrontation quickly turned into a tug-of-war match with the security guards. Eventually, guards led the protesters offstage and out of the spotlight, but news of the encounter appeared on the seasonal television series *Cada día Vendimia* the following week, in addition to other news stories. The act consequently led to a greater public discussion about the importance of 7722 and the fight to keep water protections in place even after the tourist event ended.

Immediately following the large, culminating Central Act of the Vendimia and two nights of provincial revelry, performers organized additional protests onstage. They devoted the first and third nights to anti-fracking and the 7722 law; on the second night,

they filled the stage with green and purple bandanas, symbolizing the Legal Abortion and the #NiUnaMenos campaigns, respectively. Audience members who had learned of these clandestine protests ahead of time brought their green and purple bandanas with them, holding them up in the stands as performers marched across the stage with banners denouncing gender violence. While security lined the stage to keep audience members from approaching, there was little that they could do to physically remove the artists during the curtain call-turned-protest, given their large numbers. On the third night, when artists began marching out with large anti-fracking banners, officials instructed workers to shut the stage lights off, immediately and literally invisibilizing the protesters. To further ensure that Mendoza's tourists would not be 'bothered' by the conflicts, the stage crew aimed strong spotlights into the crowd from the stage, making it too bright to stare directly forward.

Figure 13: Audience members privy to the Vendimia protests display their bandanas for legal abortion in solidarity, March 2020. Photo taken by author.

Figure 14: Artists advocate for legalizing abortion and ending femicides on stage after the second night of the Vendimia, March 2020. They hold a sign that reads, "sorry for the inconvenience, but they are killing us." Photo taken by author.

Figure 15: Lighting crew aim spotlights into the crowd directly above the artists' "Mendoza, free of fracking" banner on stage, blinding the audience and invisibilizing the protesters on the third night of Vendimia, March 2020. Photo taken by author.

The post-Vendimia protests illuminate two aspects of artists' invisible work. First, they speak to the need artists feel in many cases to stand up for human rights. Although the performers were paid well for their Vendimia performances, they ended each show with a powerful message for the audience, using their privilege and power to bypass security measures and speak their truth from the stage. These actions were undesirable from the perspective of their employers, which may put some of them at risk of not being rehired for next year's shows. Despite this, hundreds of artists made the choice to protest anyway. Secondly, the government's attempts at obscuring the protesters' presence on stage and quite literally blinding the audience to Mendoza's pressing social issues provide a telling example of the ways certain kinds of invisible work are consciously supported by dominant interests. Invisibilizing the protester-performers required significant effort on the part of the management and their stage crew. Such an obvious example of suppression helps to explain and identify more covert, systemic acts of invisibilization. I explore systemic gender inequality among musical work in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Undervalued.
The Invisibilization of Women's Musical Work

El tiempo hoy nos llama
Mujeres en unidad
Somos fuertes, somos hermanas
Somos flores y esperanzas
***
Despiertas al llamado
Que algunas ya habían olvidado

El sol te pega en la cara
Ya no te quedas detrás

Our calling is today
Women in unity
We are strong, we are sisters
We are flowers and hopes
***
Awake to the call
Some [women] have already forgotten
[that] the sun shines on your face
You are now in the spotlight.

-Daniela Trovati, "Mujer"

Above is an excerpt from Daniela Trovati's song "Mujer" (Woman).[93] The female collective *Mujer Trova* inducted Trovati in its founding year in 2013, and this song appeared in the collective's 2018 songbook. The call to action in her lyrics reflects recent efforts among female musicians in Argentina to collaborate and support one another in efforts to break down the patriarchal barriers to music performance that hinder female musicians' careers. One such example of women banding together and calling for change occurred on the last night of the 2020 Vendimia. Invited artists for the show included the popular *tropical*[94] group Los Palmeras, accompanied by the Mendoza Philharmonic Orchestra. Los Palmeras formed in the early 1970s and they remain well known today for their upbeat cumbia-style dance music. However, many of their song lyrics are

[93] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pQdvr-C1BYg
[94] *Música tropical* in Argentina refers to artists performing Caribbean-style percussion and music genres. It became most popular in Argentina in the 1980s (Moreno Chá 2007: 401), and Los Palmeras perform mostly cumbias.

misogynistic,[95] which led to a "sit-out" by at least 21 women of the Philharmonic.[96] Female orchestra members came together and refused to accompany Los Palmeras, and thus did not show up to the rehearsals nor the performance. While such a protest demonstrates how many performers take a stand for their rights and those of other women, the boycott had a minimal effect on the final performance. To borrow from Lina Džuverović (2016), the protesters were "twice erased" by their silence during the event.[97] Given the relatively small number of female musicians in the Philharmonic, audience members did not notice their sonic and visible absence. I was unaware of the protest until after the show, and I did not suspect that the orchestra lacked some of its performers. Though I observed the orchestra consisted mostly of men, the normalization of music as a male-dominated sphere in Mendoza and elsewhere obscured the statement that the women bravely tried to communicate. This example demonstrates how employers of artistic events and their audiences undervalue female performers even of classical music. In the protesters' absence, male members of the Mendoza Philharmonic accompanied Los Palmeras without issue, literally drowning out the female performers' silence and refusing to comment on it publicly. The performers who chose to play indicated by their actions that they valued their

[95] To provide one example, the chorus of "Perra" (Bitch) is: "Bitch, bitch, you abandoned me like a dog/Bitch, I hope you go to Hell/Bitch, you abandoned me like a child/Bitch, that's why I call you that now." (Perra, perra, tú me abandonaste como a un perro/Perra, ojalá te vayas al infierno/Perra, tú me abandonaste como a un niño/Perra, por eso yo ahora te digo así). Other songs discuss grooming female children. For example, "Quisiera volver" tells the story of the narrator (presumably an older man, implicated by the singer's positionality) falling in love with a 14-year-old girl.

[96] "Músicas de la Filarmónica de Mendoza se negaron a tocar con el grupo Los Palmeras por sus letras misóginas." *Infobae,* March 9, 2020. https://www.infobae.com/sociedad/2020/03/09/musicas-de-la-filarmonica-de-mendoza-se-negaron-a-tocar-con-el-grupo-los-palmeras-por-sus-letras-misoginas/

[97] Džuverović explains her role as a cocurator in the *Her Noise* project in London. By not stating an explicit feminist approach to the project, the curators "unknowingly replicated the mechanisms inherent in patriarchy perfectly," thus erasing females a second time by leaving out their own voices (2016: 90).

female colleagues' contributions to the group less than the opportunity to perform and earn money on the Vendimia stage with a well-known (and unsurprisingly, all-male) band, despite any moral qualms they may have had with particular song lyrics. The women's boycott of the Philharmonic Orchestra represents only one example of the ways in which female performers "respond to the call" that Trovati proposes to visibilize women's rights both on and off the performance stage.

Figure 16: Los Palmeras accompanied by the Mendoza Philharmonic at the Vendimia on March 9, 2020. Most women performers boycotted the performance, though their absence was not apparent from the audience. Photo taken by author.

In the first part of this chapter, I consider the processes of invisibilization of women musicians through a focus on their undervalued and thus invisible work. Undervalued work includes that which may or may not provide financial compensation, but in the cases that it does, it is not at a fair price in relation to similar tasks asked of others. In addition, undervalued workers' services are in less demand for reasons relating to their marginalized identity (in this case, because they are women) rather than their quality of work or working ability. Audience members, venue owners, and festival organizers undervalue women's musical contributions and abilities largely due to long-standing beliefs that men are innately better at making music. Despite the fact that women receive lower salaries for equal work in and beyond the musical sphere, I demonstrate in this chapter that female artists also engage in quantitatively *more* work than their male counterparts in attempts to gain an equal footing when booking gigs. I focus most prominently on the work of female collectives, which have become especially important in Argentina in the last decade. In the second half of the chapter, I discuss the potential for counteracting women's invisibility through a live music quota policy that went into effect in December 2019. My analysis of the policy's development and events leading up to its passing links female artists' additional work with their efforts in collectives, and it suggests that policy can have a positive effect in visibilizing undervalued musicians. I argue that *live* music policy specifically has the potential to reform the ways in which festival organizers and marketers scout and recruit musicians for their lineups, thus providing more opportunities for women to have successful careers in the arts.

My analysis stems from existing literature addressing the largely unspoken gender inequalities in the creative industries (Beilby and Beilby 1996; McRobbie 2010; Jones and Pringle 2015; Scharff 2017). Broadly speaking, this body of literature calls for a greater focus on work analysis, policy discussion, and precarity research in post-Fordist economies to document the systemic gendered (as well as racialized and classed) inequalities in the freelance and creative sectors. Individuals in the cultural and creative industries (CCI) are "driven by passion to Do What You Love (DWYL), prepared to work for long hours for little or even no pay, and requiring minimal support" (Conor, Gill and Taylor 2015: 2). Conor, Gill and Taylor call for an understanding of "the potency and pervasiveness of this personalized figuration of the 'creative' and how profoundly it has displaced important questions about working conditions and practices within the CCI, let alone issues of equality, diversity and social justice" (2). Though I focus on entrepreneurship and unpaid work in the preceding chapters, here I emphasize the gender inequality in neoliberal economic systems, bringing women's working conditions and their inequitable societal valuation to the forefront. Like Scharff (2017: 62), Leonard (2007), and Jones and Pringle (2015: 44), I also consider the role of women artists as caretakers and how maternal work often conflicts with the expectations and schedules of musical performance. The majority of literature written on gender inequalities in the CCI focuses on Western European case studies. By contrast, my research strives to include the experiences of working women artists in popular regional music styles from outside of the European context. Consequently, my analysis presents additional barriers to equality like the inherently macho lyrics of early folkloric music which do not manifest in Western classical music

case studies or even in other popular Western genres to the same extent as it does here. At the same time, the Argentine case offers new solutions to disparity like the live music quota policy, which is the first national gender-related quota policy pertaining to live music performance in the world. As I discuss later, the passing of the quota law became possible due to a strong formation and participation of female collectives around the country. Though similar collectives like the Riot Grrrl movement and others have developed elsewhere, the deliberate use of collective power to propose social changes through economic and musical policy appears to be unique to the Argentine case.[98] As such, its success in making live performance opportunities more equitable may offer insights for leveraging collective activity in other parts of the world.

Argentine music styles with late 19th- and early 20th-century nationalistic roots, such as folkloric music and tango, have long histories tied to machismo and a subsequent exclusion of women. The 1870s gave rise to a romanticized version of the *gaucho* or cowboy in popular culture following the publication of José Hernández's famous *Martín Fierro* epic novel.[99] Hernández tells the story of a man recruited by the military to subdue the indigenous populations on the border of Christian territory, but when he returns home, he finds that his family is gone and his home is destroyed. Fierro thus becomes a "bad"

[98] See Leonard 2007 for a more detailed account of the Riot Grrl and LadyFest movements in the 1990s and early 2000s. Her research indicates that such collectives had limited reach outside of feminist circles, thus encouraging networking but not spurring widespread social change.

[99] Many folkloric lyrics reference living in the countryside with music; For example, Atahualpa Yupanqui's "El Payador Perseguido": "*Cuando sentí una alegría/Cuando un dolor me golpió/Cuando una duda mordió/ Mi corazón de paisano/Desde el fondo de los llanos/Vino un canto y me curó*" When I felt happiness/When I was struck with pain/When a doubt overcame me/My heart of a countryman/From the depths of the plains/Came a song and healed me."

gaucho, living on the land and battling adversaries in *payadas* (duels that feature improvised verses and music). Song lyrics and other art forms at the turn of the twentieth century often celebrate Argentine cowboys from the plains despite their checkered image "as rowdy ne'er-do-wells." Lyrics typically depict them as fleeing "the confines of civilization in the open spaces of the pampas, living lives of random violence, dissipated alcoholism, and chronic womanizing" (Larson 2018: 156). Since they were often musicians themselves, gauchos (and later *compadritos* in tango music, once they migrated to the urban peripheries of Buenos Aires), further associated folkloric and tango music styles with male figures.[100] In 1930, José Félix Uriburu led a coup d'état that overthrew Hipólito Yrigoyen's government and "gave way to conservative rehabilitations of Catholic and Hispanic traditions, reframing these elements as distinguished and authentic customs of Argentina's ancestral past" (Larson 2018: 164). Musically, nationalism manifested itself through nostalgic lyrics referencing the countryside and "invoking the timelessness of indigenous Argentina" (165). This conservative nostalgia rooted in Catholic beliefs again reinforced gender stereotypes and maintained musical connections to machismo through lyrics and performance. The canon of folkloric and tango repertoire today reflects its androcentric past. For example, in *Eso que llamamos folklore,* Portorrico names approximately 1,283 folkloric artists in Argentina from the late 19th century through the

[100] Numerous tango and folkloric songs have androcentric and/or violent lyrics against women. For example, Eduardo Rivero's tango "Amablemente" (lyrics by Iván Diez) tells the story of a man who finds his partner in someone else's arms. The protagonist does not hurt the other man, but only his partner, he describes in the ultimate verse, "*Y luego, besuqueándole la frente/con gran tranquilidad, amablemente/Le fajó treinta y cuatro puñaladas*" (And then, after smothering her forehead with kisses/ calmly and sweetly/he stabbed her 34 times).

1990s, and 1,143 of them are men (89%) while he mentions only 140 women (11%). One notable exception to the overwhelming focus on male composition and performance in folkloric styles is Mercedes Sosa, known widely as the "Voice of Latin America." However, many Argentines I spoke with were sure to specify that Sosa only sang other (mostly male[101]) musicians' songs, so she is not often thought of in the same group as others (read: men) who wrote their own music, such as Yupanqui, Hilario Cuadros, and Oscar "Chaqueño" Palavecino. Women's representation in Argentine festivals today reflects similar inequalities. In 2017-2018, Mel Gowland and Alcira Garido found that out of 46 festivals in Argentina programming a total of 1,605 bands, only 160 of those groups had at least one female performer. Women's participation in live music events across all genres thus averaged around 10%, and that the percentage was much less for traditionally male-dominated genres such as *rock nacional* and folkloric styles (Liska 2020). [102]

Because most of my informants live and work in the province of Mendoza, it is important to contextualize the political and musical characteristics in the region. Influences from folkloric music styles with a strongly male-dominated history pervade the música popular scene there. Given its generally more politically conservative population, pushback against gender equality in historically androcentric professions like música popular performance is likely greater here than in some of the more liberal and cosmopolitan cities

[101] One exception are her covers of songs by Chilean Violeta Parra.

[102] Various studies of female musicians' representation in festivals across Latin America occurred between 2016 and 2018, including the work of Francisca Valenzuela and her team of independent musicians via the *Ruidosa* festival in Chile and Auska Ovando's study of the percentage of women at 25 music festivals throughout the region (Liska 2020). Ovando found women's participation in Latin American music festivals to average around 9.5% for all-female groups and 22.5% including bands with at least one female performer (Liska 2020).

like Córdoba or Buenos Aires. Though Mendoza is the fourth-largest city in the country, its economic ties to rural agriculture and its relative isolation to other large urban centers in Argentina make it an interesting case to examine. It shares some characteristics with other urban areas such as frequent artistic performances, tourist attractions, and other cultural institutions like museums, but it also reflects the more conservative perspective of many western provinces that differ starkly from the capital.

THE INVISIBILIZATION OF WOMEN ARTISTS

Women folkloric musicians in Mendoza remain under the radar of artists and non-musicians alike. As late as 2017, I attended numerous concerts throughout the city and men composed almost all of the groups. The one exception was a female vocalist accompanied by male instrumentalists, which follows similar trends in popular music in the US and UK as outlined by Leonard (2007: 91) and does not challenge overall gender norms in musical performance.[103] Olallá explained, "It is crazy how the tango became a super macho genre. The great divas of the 1940s were composers, super famous singers, film stars, they acted in millions of movies and they ended up in a separate, marginalized chapter of history" (Millán 2018: 45).[104] I asked a male musician with years of folkloric performance experience why female instrumentalists did not feature more prominently in such ensembles; his response felt antiquated but did not surprise me: he suggested that not many

[103] Camila Millán confirms that the gendered hierarchization of music, which does not easily allow women to access the roles of guitarist, percussionist, or composer, still holds true in Mendoza (2018: 7).
[104] "Es loco como el tango empezó siendo una música súper machista. Las grandes divas de los años cuarentas eran compositoras, cantantes famosísimas, estrellas de cine, salían en millones de películas y quedaron como en un capítulo aparte, marginadas."

women played guitar or percussion seriously enough to perform professionally. This conversation alerted me to two main issues surrounding gendered performance in Argentina: 1) people I otherwise consider progressive thinkers still believe that women do not and cannot have equal musical and technical skills to that of men; and 2) women performers remain invisible, even to insiders like my informant.

Various factors contribute to gender biases related to specific repertoires such as folkloric music and related marketing materials that perpetuate processes of women's invisibilization. As in the case of local interpretations of cumbia, folkloric music in Argentina is written by men and often adopts a stereotypically male optic; many well-known song lyrics either objectify women or blame female partners for love-related anguish.[105] As such, the genre discourages women from covering songs of the past and prevents them from capitalizing on the nostalgic longing for an earlier period of rural life that many male folkloric performers reference.[106] Like Trovati's lyrics that opened this chapter, many songs written by women artists foreground women's issues, further isolating them from the macho roots of folkloric-influenced music, and consequently also from what might be considered 'mainstream' or 'traditional' folkloric expression.[107]

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[105] See for example "La Chinita," "No se puede, no se puede," "Ya pocas horas le quedan," and "Nació una rosa en el suelo" in Juan Draghi Lucero's *Cancionero Popular Cuyano* (1938).

[106] I discuss contemporary musicians' connections to older folkloric songs in more detail in Chapter 5.

[107] Although macho themes dominate 'mainstream' folkloric-rooted music styles, the audiences typically consist of men and women equally. This is likely in part due to the fact that many of the performers' spouses and female friends attend music events in support, thus balancing the demographics of the public that include other (mostly male) musical colleagues and aficionados. Older folks especially, both men and women, enjoy this style of music because many of them remember their parents or grandparents singing the tunes at family events; they associate it less with a perspective that highlights gender inequality and more with their nostalgic memories as children and young adults.

Certain marketing habits on flyers also actively invisibilize women artists. As Cristina Pérez explains, promoters of large peña-style concerts with numerous musicians in the lineup will list a handful of the most prominent artists and then write "and many others."[108] According to Pérez, the flyers most often omit women's names, forcing them into the "many others" category and ultimately erasing their presence. Similarly, flyers for events with music as one component will simply state "live music," invisibilizing who is performing. While this erasure affects all artists, it impacts women more strongly due to their already marginal status in Mendoza's music scene. For instance, Pérez performed at the *Vida Feria*, an event where many local vendors sell various foods, plants, and other natural products.[109] While a small photo of Pérez appears on the flyer in Figure 17, the event description states only "Talleres y artistas en vivo!" (Live workshops and music!) instead of listing her name, which would have taken up less or equivalent space. The omission of Pérez's name suggests she has no value as a performer with an artistic following who may attract additional people to the event. Instead, she provides music as a no-name performer, obscuring her professional status and profile.

[108] Cristina Pérez, interview. November 12, 2019, Godoy Cruz.

[109] The meanings behind venues amenable to women performers is beyond the scope of this chapter, but Vida Feria often hires women musicians including Daniela Trovati. The relationship between women's 'natural' being, as described by Sherry Ortner (1974) and many others (Griffin 1978; Plumwood 1993; Ya-Chu Yang 2018), accompanied by the sale of 'natural' foods, plants and other domestic products seems to perpetuate long-standing biases about women's connection to both nature and the home.

Figure 17: Vida Feria Flyer, 2019

FEMALE COLLECTIVES

In recent years, women musicians have attempted to raise the status of their work by forming collectives and organizing various women-centered events and concerts. Daniela Trovati, Carla Petrus, Melisa Budini, and Julieta Laparra have all discussed their

experiences with music making in Argentina before the female collectives emerged.[110] Each provided nearly identical narratives: women, because they already constituted a minority of performers, often felt as if they needed to compete against one another for venues and concert space. Each woman aspired to be recognized as a top performer in their respective genre, and ultimately to achieve "exceptional woman" status.[111] Women thus felt professionally and financially threatened by other women, and consequently most worked independently of them. With the formation of collectives, all of the women with whom I spoke explained that they have since realized they hurt themselves by competing against one another. Now, women collaborate frequently, sharing performance spaces and promoting one another's art. Trovati mentioned that women in *Mujer Trova* compiled private, unpublished documents of inductees' experiences as well as strategies for making female art more visible, which they continue to disseminate through private networks on social media. She recalled a short phrase from the lyrics of *Mujer Trova* inductee Sylvia Zabzuk's "Agüita y revolución" that is representative of the collective's philosophy: "each

[110] Daniela Trovati, interview. September 6, 2019, Mendoza; Carla Petrus, interview. September 12, 2019, Maipú; Melisa Budini, interview. October 21, 2019, Mendoza; Julieta Laparra, interview. November 8, 2019, Godoy Cruz.

[111] "Exceptional woman" syndrome references the phenomenon of singling out a select few female performers for their remarkable talent, providing supposed visibility for all women artists. In reality, as Macarthur (2014) explains, "it empowers a minority of exceptionally gifted women while disempowering the majority, the latter dissuaded from having [their] collective interests represented" (38). Leonard (2007) suggests this phenomenon is discursively maintained in the rock scene with the phrase "women in rock," a notion that also applies to the folkloric context. Leonard explains that "rather than simply pointing to the activity of female musicians within a particular music genre, the phrase usually works to peculiarize the presence of women rock performers… rock discourse thus normalizes the male performer and so deems the activity of women in this field as worthy of note" (32).

person [on their own] shines as no one."[112] In essence, the phrase implies that through working together and supporting one another, all women win.

In the last decade, the creation of collectives has become common among women singer-songwriters who accompany themselves on a guitar, drum, or related instruments. *Mujer Trova,* based in Buenos Aires, is perhaps the most well-known, along with *Las Cumparsitas* that formed in April 2020 in the same city. *Las Compositoras* is a group of women from Entre Ríos province, and *Las Amoras* is based in Mendoza. *Grita!*, another Mendoza-based collective, began in 2018 with the distinctive goal of using music to promote a bill legalizing abortion.[113] The objective of each of these collectives is to raise the public profile of women musicians and issues related to women's rights more broadly. Many times, this means creating space for them to perform at concerts that the collectives host. Before the annual *Mujer Trova* conference in Buenos Aires, inductees from around the country organized *Ruta Mujer Trova* (Mujer Trova route) concerts. They featured *Mujer Trova* participants in provinces outside of Buenos Aires, bringing more awareness to not only the organization but also to professional musicians performing around the country.

[112] "*Cada una brilla como ninguna.*" For the entire song transcription, see Ferré (2018).

[113] As of this writing, *Grita!* is not currently active. According to Daniela Trovati, it formed out of a need to support particular legislation that has since not passed; the members, though still performing, do not currently have a new project towards which they are working.

Figure 18: Ruta Mujer Trova concert at the Museo Carlos Alonso in Mendoza. Performers from left to right: Cristina Pérez (Mendoza), Analía Garcetti (Mendoza), Carolina Wajnerman (Buenos Aires), Daniela Trovati (Mendoza), Martha Elena Hoyos (Colombia), Ana Suñé (Santa Fé), Mijal Guinguis (Buenos Aires). Photo taken by author, 2019.

Preferred Performance Spaces for Women and Female Collectives

Part of the new infrastructure of female collaboration in Argentina takes the form of workshops and conferences exclusively for women. The largest conference of this nature is the annual Encuentro Nacional de Música de Mujeres (National Conference for Women's Music), established in 2018 in Santiago del Estero.[114] However, many smaller events take place regularly. On November 22, 2019, for instance, I attended a women's percussion workshop in Mendoza, led by Lucila Mársico, who was visiting from her

[114]https://movimientomusicade.wixsite.com/encuentronmm?fbclid=IwAR2TuMKiolOmFN7uFQxHipDvJz3MFpF268FIzB1eS13GwxrXF3lfS5LPVBQ

hometown in San Martín de los Andes, about 1,200 kilometers to the south. The workshop took place in the home of another female musician, and at the beginning of the session Márwhile asked each participant to share why they had come. Several suggested that they wanted to participate because the event was for women only. A couple of them said they felt safe there to experiment with new instruments and percussion techniques, implying that they did not feel as welcome in coed workshops. This reflects sentiment shared by punk musicians at music stores in the UK as described by Marion Leonard. Leonard explains that her informants experienced the music store as a masculine space that created a hostile environment for women. Some employees spoke in a condescending manner to women; other female customers felt intimidated because of their lack of technical vocabulary when shopping for and trying out instruments there (2007: 49-50). Women in Argentina also expressed their discomfort experimenting with percussion instruments in other settings because they felt they were not qualified to do so; by contrast, the women-only workshop created a judgement-free space. Márwhile suggested that while she does sometimes hold coed workshops, one of her goals in organizing gender-specific workshops is to strengthen women's roles in music. She encouraged improvisation and creative performance on instruments rather than prioritizing technical expertise, further relaxing the expectation that participants have prior knowledge of particular instruments. Because she excludes all male clients from such workshops, one might assume that she would need to double her marketing work in order to find enough participants to generate a reasonable salary. However, she was pleased with the turnout for both of the workshops she held in

Mendoza, suggesting that women's musical work is only undervalued in the patriarchal system rather than in terms of absolute numbers.

The home has served as an 'acceptable' female musical space for many years and across geographic regions, leaving unanswered the question of whether the fact that women perform more frequently in underground domestic venues reflects progress with music/gender disparities. According to Mársico, women in Argentina have easier access to underground events like those described in Chapter 2 than to more formally staged events. Female informants suggested that they encountered more difficulty performing in larger festivals since organizers seem to prioritize male groups. Because most underground concerts take place in homes, by contrast, when women play in them they do not disrupt the predominately male official music scene of *música popular* events in Mendoza. The de-facto segregation of gendered musical performance in this way occurred even more prominently in Victorian society. Petra Meyer-Frazier explains that parlor songs upheld "the nineteenth-century gender norm known as 'separate spheres'" (2006: 47). In other words, men segregated women at home from their working lives outside the home. Since piano performance was a common element of 19th-century Victorian women's domestic activities, the idea of women performing in homes was not particularly transgressive to the norms of the time. Similarly, music education scholar Lucy Green explains that "as is characteristic of musical patriarchy,[115] women's access to [keyboards] was initially restricted to the private sphere of the home" (1997: 59).

[115] Green defines her concept of musical patriarchy as "the division of musical work into a largely male public sphere and a largely female private sphere…women's public musical work has largely drawn on the

Although contemporary women tend to perform in underground concerts more consistently and the spaces may carry negative (or at least less amateurish) associations derived from Victorian times, many informants said they nevertheless preferred underground performance venues. Julieta Laparra suggested that she preferred intimate underground venues because she did not like to project or sing loudly, and home spaces are better suited for the acoustics of her voice.[116] Analía Garcetti explained that she preferred the ambience: "I prefer places that *value* what you are doing…For example, I don't like venues with food."[117] Garcetti's use of the word "value" to describe the venues she enjoys implies the normal undervaluation of all musical performance in bars and restaurants, another space to which women have easier access. It may be that audiences value artists' contributions and engage with them more directly in underground spaces regardless of the musician's gender identity. Garcetti told me she still performed at festivals when the opportunity arose, but not at bars or places where the music performance created mere background ambience. Other women indicated that they wanted to perform in festivals but had difficulties getting invitations to them. In sum, larger venues marginalize women performers more than spaces like bars and home concerts, and the spaces to which women do have easier access frequently undervalue musicians and maintain gendered stereotypes. Many artists still prefer smaller, more intimate spaces for the connection they

characteristics of women's private musical work. Furthermore, women have mainly participated in musical pursuits which in some way enable a symbolic expression of 'feminine' characteristics" (Green 1997: 15).

[116] Julieta Laparra, interview. November 8, 2019, Godoy Cruz.

[117] Analía Garcetti, interview. November 13, 2019, Mendoza. "Yo prefiero lugares donde se valore lo que estás haciendo…Por ejemplo, no me gustan los lugares con comida."

share with the audience, but if given the option to perform at larger festivals for more substantive earnings, female performers indicate that they would like to do so as well.

In the next section, I discuss an important policy-based change to live music performance that could result in progressive changes to the patriarchal structure of the music industry in Argentina and beyond. The Live Music Female Quota law also speaks to the additional work in which women musicians engage in order to pass legislation and make space for themselves as professional artists.

THE LIVE MUSIC FEMALE QUOTA LAW

In the era of #MeToo and #NiUnaMenos,[118] issues of gender representation and equality have emerged in untold contexts internationally, including among musicians in Argentina. The movement "For More Live Women Musicians"[119] began in September 2018 with supporters across the country proposing a "Live Music Female Quota" Bill.[120] Approved as a national law on November 20, 2019, this first-of-its-kind policy now

[118] This movement, meaning "Not one [woman] more," began in Argentina in 2015 and quickly spread throughout Latin America. While it primarily focuses on ending high rates of femicide in Argentina and beyond, the movement has also protested other issues of gender violence and inequality (Accossato and Sendra 2018, 120).

[119] "Por Más Músicas Mujeres en Vivo." For more information, see Law 27539, "Cupo femenino y acceso de artistas mujeres a eventos musicales," Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos. http://servicios.infoleg.gob.ar/infolegInternet/verNorma.do;jsessionid=DCC1A0DFA632A399D075973A50FBFD50?id=333518#:~:text=Resumen%3A,DESARROLLO%20DE%20LA%20INDUSTRIA%20MUSICAL.&text=Esta%20norma%20modifica%20o%20complementa%20a%201%20norma(s).

[120] Most news sources refer to the new law simply as the "*Ley de cupo femenino"* (Female Quota Law). Occasionally in conversation, my informants refer to it as the *"Ley de cupo femenino en los escenarios"* (Female Quota Law in [Live] Venues). On the Instituto Nacional de la Música (INAMU) webpage, they refer to the law as the *Cupo femenino y acceso de artistas mujeres a eventos musicales* (Female quota and access of women artists to musical events). Throughout this chapter, I have chosen to use "Live Music Female Quota" (LMFQ) for issues of length of the official title, and to distinguish the law from the similarly titled "Female Quota Law" (*Ley de cupo femenino),* which often refers to the 1991 quota law for political elections, discussed later.

requires female musicians to comprise at least 30% of participants in live events involving more than three groups. I consider the issue of more equitable gender representation in live performance from the perspective of policy, arguing that the new law should significantly impact female musicians' careers in ways not often achieved through an unregulated music industry. Leonard's (2007) accounts of the Riot Grrl and LadyFest movements in the 1990s and early 2000s indicate their limited reach outside of feminist circles, thus encouraging the networking of female artists but not spurring widespread social or artistic change. Such critiques also seem applicable in the case of Argentine female collectives, described previously, which limits their impact and audience. By contrast, quota policies have the potential to weaken gender biases implicit in many festivals' planning agendas, forcing organizers to follow, hire, and promote more women artists.

Feminist Roots and Quota Policies in Argentina

The feminist movement in Argentina began with the growth of the female working class in the late 19th century, and it expanded through numerous women's organizations that date from the first half of the 20th century (Hammond 2019: 74; Lavrín 1998: 21). Due to Argentina's strong Roman Catholic roots, both men and women emphasized femininity over feminism during this time. As Lavrín (1998) explains: "Religion stressed the worship of Mary, the mother of Christ, and womanhood was synonymous with motherhood" (33). Thus, many early proto-feminist organizations such as the National Council of Women advocated for the improvement of women's individual lives within the home rather than for financial emancipation, equality, or suffrage (26). It was not until 1926 that Argentina

reformed its Civil Code (210), while women gained suffrage much later, in 1947. Argentine gender scholars consider the country's feminist trajectory to follow the three waves established by North American and European feminist and gender studies scholars (Longa 2016, 63; Kroløkke and Sørensen 2006). The third wave in Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s led efforts to institutionalize and organize collectively (Matos and Paradis 2013: 97), and Argentina's first Female Quota Law represents part of that phase.

In 1991, Argentina passed the first national Female Quota Law which requires at least 30% of all nationally elected political candidates to be women (Caminotti 2014: 3). In terms of numbers, this political quota law appears to have increased female representation in elected positions significantly. For example, women's presence in Argentine politics rose from 5.5% before the Female Quota Law to 33.5% by 2001 (Araújo and García 2006: 99). In Latin American countries without female quota laws, women's representation in politics did in some cases grow as well during the same period, though at a much slower rate (Araújo and García 2006: 105). However, scholars disagree on the social and economic impact of increased female representation in politics. Some argue that the quota policy has not drastically changed the number of women with political decision-making power, and that many women who *are* elected do not have feminist agendas (Krook 2008; D'Elia 2012: 100).[121] As a result, they suggest the law may appeal to neoliberal values of equality and diversity without necessarily advancing feminist goals as much as

[121] Take, for example in the United States, Donald Trump's Supreme Court nominee Amy Coney Barrett to replace the late Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.

initially hoped; the quota thus creates cosmetic changes but arguably does little to disrupt the patriarchal political system.

Live Music Policy in the 21st Century

Almost three decades later, a discourse emerged among musicians about the exclusion of female artists from Argentine music festivals and other mainstream music making. According to Mercedes Liska (2020), this discourse was a result of various events that occurred in 2018, including the formation of *Festival GRL PWR* in Córdoba and Rosario;[122] the creation of grassroots music collectives and subsequent protests advocating for a law allowing legal abortions; and the efforts of feminist musicians and journalists to bring awareness to the exclusion of female performers at B.A. Rock[123] and at a festival commemorating the death of the popular rock musician Luis Alberto Spinetta. A new consciousness of gender inequalities surrounding musical performance spurred the creation of the Live Music Female Quota (LMFQ) Law.[124]

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[122] This festival was inspired by the US-based Riot Grrl network and subsequent feminist-driven music events in the 1990s (Liska 2020). For a nuanced discussion of female collectives and festivals in the US and Europe's indie rock scene, see Leonard (2007).

[123] B.A. Rock is a large festival in Buenos Aires that began in the 1970s. In 2017, a fifth edition of the festival took place. The most recent festival contracted 68 bands, totaling approximately 250 men and only 9 women. There were not any female musicians on the lineup for the Spinetta tribute festival, which presented a total of 19 musicians. (Liska 2020).

[124] See official legislation for Law 27539 here: http://servicios.infoleg.gob.ar/infolegInternet/anexos/330000-334999/333518/norma.htm. According to the "frequently asked questions" section on INAMU's page for the LMFQ, both cis-gender and queer women are included in the quota, as long as they have indicated their gender as female in the INAMU artist registration (https://inamu.musica.ar/pdf/PreguntasFrecuentesCupo.pdf). Some female collectives, such as *Grita!* have specifically welcomed non-cis, queer artists in addition to cis women in their organization. Others, such as *Mujer Trova*, have not specifically defined their conception of women. As Carolina Wajnerman, one of *Mujer Trova's* original inductees explained to me, the movement has always focused on making women *trova* artists more visible, without explicitly defining "woman" or "*trova*" in order to keep the possibilities for inclusion more open to new inductees.

Although the Senate and Chamber of Deputies passed the LMFQ with an overwhelming majority (and almost unanimously in the case of the former), there has been pushback since the bill was proposed. According to Analía Garcetti who helped present the bill to the Mendoza legislature, the most common criticism is that not enough female artists perform at a professional level to hire across all music genres. However, the recent surge in activity of female artist collectives around the country has helped to make the large number of professional female Argentine artists more visible while simultaneously offering empirical evidence that festivals have discriminated against contracting women.

Politics and Benefits of Policy-Based Changes in Live Music

Although female artist collectives create significantly more visibility for their members, the gendered systems of performance in Argentina still make it difficult to increase professional performance opportunities, as discussed. Paula Wolfe explains how digital technology and independent label services allow more women to control the production and distribution of their music today internationally, yet she notes that technological change alone has not disrupted systemic gender biases within the music industry (2019: 142). In reference to recorded music in the UK, she writes:

> The situation of the female music producer and the female artist-producer… is characterized by a core contradiction in which the creative liberation proffered by… digital recording technologies and online marketing practices… remain restricted by old industry values sustained through gendered forms of gatekeeping and representation (2019: 3).

Wolfe's critique of gender bias in the commercial music industry in the UK applies to Argentine musicians as well; the accessibility of recording equipment has allowed most of

my informants to record and produce their own albums and market them through social media. However, access to technology on its own has not afforded them greater performance or career opportunities. For example, during a three-month period of fieldwork in Mendoza in 2019, I attended over 20 performances organized or hosted by men;[125] in contrast, I only found four events primarily organized, hosted, and promoted by women. These findings speak to the underlying gendered systems that surround live music performance. Live music making without policy-based gender regulations replicates the gatekeeping in the recorded music industry that Wolfe describes. In the interviews I conducted, many women mentioned the ways in which their collaborations in collectives have afforded all members more performance opportunities, especially when they organize their own events. However, the promoters of large festivals and those with power over contracting in prominent venues are still largely men; they keep female collectives' performances segregated from more 'mainstream' music venues. Only a policy-based initiative such as the LMFQ has the potential to reform the ways in which organizers scout, hire, and promote female artists because it demands a significant shift in existing gender bias. Because festival organizers ultimately desire financial success through ticket sales, they have to find female musicians of high quality and hire them despite possible (sub)conscious preconceptions as to their lack of musical abilities.

[125] The majority of these performances featured at least one female musician, but they were overwhelmingly singers and very outnumbered; For example, at the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra concert on September 13, 2019, the orchestra invited one female guitarist from the youth guitar orchestra to join the professional group for the evening, in addition to a woman guest vocalist from Colombia, Martha Elena Hoyos. The rest of the guest performers and regular members of the group, all men, totaled around 30. At another performance on November 9, 2019 titled "Americuyo," seven artists performed in two different groups and only one of those artists, a singer, was a woman.

Though the internet and advancing technologies have provided audiences the possibility of immediate (mediated) musical consumption with the tap of a touchscreen, Garcetti argues that consumption through the internet distances the performer and listener. The consumer conceptualizes recorded sound as a commodity, far from its original human-created source. Garcetti's view of recorded music parallels that of Jacques Attali (1985), who warns that the repetition of recorded music has increasingly separated sound from society, as it allows the stockpiling of time. He suggests that musical recordings repeat "the memory of another society… a society in which [those sounds] had meaning" (120). In other words, a recording cannot carry the same relevance that a live performance can because from the moment the artist records, the distance from the original political and social moment begins to grow. Garcetti explains that live music events, by contrast, bring performer and audience into direct physical contact:

> In reality, the human link between singer and the audience is necessary, both for the listeners and performer. It is necessary because it is like a renewal of energy… for life itself: [for the singer] and for the people, because this also makes the people visible… The singer says things that [the audience] also feels, and that interaction is positive for everyone.[126]

Garcetti's quote above suggests that female performers share crucial lived experiences with other women through live events. Although women in the recording industry can also share experiences, the direct and multi-directional communication between audience members and the singer is largely lost in the studio and through streaming.

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[126] Analía Garcetti, interview. November 13, 2019, Mendoza. "En realidad esa vinculación humana entre el intérprete cantor y la gente es necesario, para la gente y para el cantor. Es necesario porque es como una realimentación… de la vida misma, y para la gente también porque eso también la hace visibilizar… El cantor dice cosas que vos también te sentís, y esa interacción es positiva para todos."

Live music performance offers an especially compelling platform through which to advance feminists' goals of greater gender equality. Daniela Trovati suggests why the LMFQ is significant in this regard: "It is important to occupy spaces of power… that is, to be face to face with the people." As many other interviewees explained to me, live music provides space and time for the performer to speak in between songs, make political statements, and generally influence the audience to a greater extent than on a recording. Mavis Bayton argues that an increase in female representation on live stages also inspires more young women to become musicians, thus reducing gender disparities in the arts and transforming the traditionally masculine space of music making (1998: 208). Argentine musician Melisa Budini explains that she sees live performance like a mirror of society: when women occupy the stage, they reflect new possibilities for all audience members, especially women. Musicians inspire change, reducing gender injustice through verbal and symbolic representation; the audience then accepts their vision of change and fosters opportunities for women in other musical scenes and in everyday life.

Impact of the LMFQ on Women's Careers

Of the nine interviews I conducted with female artists in addition to various other informal conversations, all informants recognized a degree of extra difficulty for women hoping to establish a career as performers. Daniela Trovati raised a subject that many others alluded to:

> I have always had to create space for myself. I have always worked with very nice people. But the environment is difficult. In other words, you have to have a lot of

> attitude, a lot of passion, and push hard to create a professional space for yourself, you see? Generally, men are the ones who get to perform.[127]

Trovati suggests that booking gigs as a woman was more difficult and that she had seen newer, less qualified and less experienced male bands secure positions when her band could not. Again, this scenario likely stems from the undervaluation of women musicians, reifying patriarchal assumptions that women's playing abilities are inferior (Bayton 1998: 122). Likewise, Garcetti describes her perspective on performing as a young woman in an ensemble with her sisters. At the time, she notes, "I was thinking that perhaps what my sisters and I were doing wasn't good enough. Now I view [the same situation] from afar and I say, "oh, look, [gender bias]."[128] Others suggested they had better luck finding performance opportunities when partnering with a man, because their collaborator often had better professional connections. Bayton's research on women in the UK punk music scene supports the notion that those with boyfriend musicians more easily secured gigs than their single female and lesbian counterparts (1998: 59). Close to half of my female informants perform regularly with a romantic (male) partner, aligning with Bayton's observation. These anecdotes suggest that a wide variety of gender disparities will persist without the implementation of policy-based regulations to foster greater equality.

Due to the difficulties that women performers have with booking and performing, many end up engaging in more work than their male counterparts in attempts to even the

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[127] Daniela Trovati, interview. September 6, 2019, Mendoza. "Siempre he tenido que abrirme espacio… Siempre he trabajado con gente muy linda. Pero el ambiente es difícil. O sea, uno tiene que tener mucha actitud, mucha pasión, mucho empuje para abrirse campo, ¿no? Y generalmente son los hombres los que tocan."

[128] Analía Garcetti, interview. November 13, 2019, Mendoza. "Yo pensaba que al mejor no era suficiente lo que hacíamos nosotras. Ahora miro de lejos y digo ah, mirá."

playing field. As Mendocina tango musician Elbi Olallá explains, "women also suffer from the everyday expectations of having to do twice the work of a man in a similar role because we take things on and carry a ton of extra duties that are expected of us. I am a woman who fights a lot for equality, and even so I end up having a huge number of tasks fall to me as my responsibility" (Millán 2018: 59).[129] Participation in unpaid feminist events such as those discussed in Chapter 3 represents one example of the extra work that women musicians expend in order to create more performance space.

The LMFQ has the potential to change certain social norms associated with raising a family, in addition to the dynamics surrounding career trajectories. Garcetti, for example, describes her challenging experiences balancing life as an artist and a mother:

> In many cases, there is something that happens in the artistic life of women, which is motherhood. When you're a young mother, you detach a little from the media. At the beginning [of my career], I remember we were performing because lots of events were getting organized. Then, you detach [from your career, to be a mother] and in the aftermath you begin a new era of trying to [perform] when a lot of things [in the music industry] have changed.[130]

The way that Garcetti describes the experience of motherhood implies that social norms create an expectation for women to stay home to raise children. Argentina's maternity leave policies mostly apply to formally registered employees (Calero 2016: 1–2); since musicians

[129] "Las mujeres además sufrimos la de la cotidiana de tener que laborar el doble que un varón en nuestro mismo rol porque cargamos y portamos con un montón de actividades extras que se supone que hacemos nosotras. Yo he sido una mujer que ha luchado mucho por la igualdad, y aún así me recaen un montonazo de tareas."

[130] Analía Garcetti, interview. November 13, 2019, Mendoza. "Hay algo que en la vida artística de las mujeres que sucede que es la maternidad, en muchos casos. Entonces cuando vos, en tu época de maternidad te desvinculas un poco de los medios. Entonces yo te puedo decir y, mirá al principio recuerdo que actuábamos porque organizaban cosas y después te desvinculaste y ya entraste en otro etapa de tratar de salir cuando ya cambiaron un montón de cosas."

often make a living by piecing various projects together, they typically work in the informal economic sector and have little access to such rights. While maternity leave programs do provide modest financial assistance[131] even to mothers working in the informal economy, they do not help them gain back the lost time, income, or professional profile resulting from staying home, as Garcetti discusses:

> Between about 25 and 35, while a man has a full performance schedule and is advancing professionally, women are at home with the kids. Women can have a profession [during this time] too, but it's not the same because the actual time they can devote to it is less…Art and the development of an artistic language demands time. [Making] contacts also requires time, and you need time to continue to learn. Given all this, I believe that a fundamental inequality exists between male and female artists.[132]

Unlike Garcetti, Trovati does not currently have children. Taking into account Trovati's experience of having to work hard in order to find performance opportunities even when dedicating herself full time to music, it makes sense that many female artists choose to stay home to raise children since men find work more easily. This proves especially true in a traditionally Catholic society like Argentina where motherhood is an assumed stage of life. However, the LMFQ now offers women a greater equality of performance opportunities. As such, they may not have to remain at home with children if they have a better chance

[131] According to the International Labour Office (ILO), the amount was equivalent to $65 USD in 2016.

[132] Analía Garcetti, interview. November 13, 2019, Mendoza. "… Ponéle, entre los 25 y 35 años, que el hombre está a full creciendo profesionalmente, las mujeres están con los hijos, y puede acceder a la profesión igual, pero no es lo mismo porque la dedicación del tiempo real es menos… y el arte, el desarrollo de lenguaje artístico exige tiempo, exige tiempo de contactos y de estar de aprender. Entonces ahí yo creo que sucede una gran desigualdad entre los artistas hombres y las artistas mujeres." See Bayton (1998) for numerous parallel stories of artists' motherhood as a hindrance to their musical careers in the UK punk scene.

of developing an artistic career. The new law will potentially weaken the gendered associations between women, children, and domestic life over time.[133]

CONCLUSION

The intent of using the LMFQ as a case study in this chapter has been to consider the potential outcomes of the law from a feminist perspective rather than to predict or confirm concrete effects of the policy. Because the law did not go into effect until December 18, 2019, it has had relatively little time to demonstrate outcomes. Compounded with Argentina's light summer season (through late February) and the mandatory cancellation of live music events as of mid-March 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the law's impact on female musicians and Argentine society more broadly remains unclear. Yet even before the law passed, a few event organizers and collectives suggested to me that they were already thinking about how they would incorporate more female musicians in the coming years. Two women artists associated with all-female bands confirmed that they noticed an increase in calls for gigs immediately following the passing of the law.[134] The discussions of the LMFQ in the news, on social media, and in conjunction with active female collectives undoubtedly fueled performance contractors' consideration of greater gender equality. These preliminary effects suggest that the law will likely provide a

[133] The exception to this may include performers who are single mothers. Sandra Amaya explains that because she raised children on her own, she had to make a choice to advance her career and leave her kids with her mom or other caretaker or sacrifice her presence in the music scene in order to be present in the children's' lives (Millán 2018: 35). In cases like these, the LMFQ may not be enough in order to give women equal space and time in live performance.

[134] Gisela Levin, personal communication. July 9, 2020; Lucía Miremont, personal communication. July 10, 2020.

significant increase in financial revenue and performance opportunities for women. As such, it will potentially alter existing patriarchal power structures in and beyond the music industry. Unlike ephemeral, feminist-driven festivals such as Ladyfest or Festival GRL PWR that temporarily grant women access to live performance venues (Leonard 2007: 179), the LMFQ requires cultural gatekeepers to revise their conceptions of who performs music, consequently normalizing women's presence on stage.

Building on Wolfe's recognition of gender disparities in the recording industry, I have highlighted the characteristics of live music that advance social equality goals. Live music policymaking for greater gender equality in Argentina became possible due to the work of female music collectives and in the wake of legislation designed to facilitate female participation in politics. Unlike previous policies ostensibly designed to combat gender inequality, the LMFQ has greater potential to undermine systemic bias as live performance allows for an intimate connection between artist and performer. Coupled with representation on stage, female musicians communicate to the audience that women are equally qualified to not only perform but to follow career goals outside of the home.

The undervaluation of women's invisible work in the music industry is a multi-layered problem without a simple solution. There are various invisibilizing processes, some of which I have exposed here, such as the elimination of performers' names on flyers, long-standing belief that women are not professional musicians, and their subsequent exclusion in festivals. Confronting these systemic issues, women have worked together to create spaces for themselves in concerts, workshops, and policymaking. Ultimately, their efforts to succeed in a music industry that excludes them results in additional invisible work. It

takes the form of more conversations and the compiling of data via private networks, collaborative concert and workshop organizing, and appearances before lawmakers. Women musicians and their work in Argentina is very much alive despite their invisibility, and the LMFQ will hopefully serve as an important step in undermining long-standing patriarchal biases and ultimately raising the value of their work in the eyes of male musicians, festival contractors, and the broader public.

Chapter 5: Unrecognized. In Mendoza's Enotourism Sector

Tourism has become the most important industry for many economies across the world (Fidel 2016: 29). As Zurab Pololikashvili, the Secretary-General for the World Tourism Organization (WTO) explains, "growth in international tourist arrivals and receipts continues to outpace the world economy and both emerging and advanced economies are benefiting from rising tourism income" (UNWTO 2019: 2). For the last six decades, "tourism has become the flagship of the world economy" (Pavlović and Knežević 2017: 60). Argentina, and especially Mendoza, boosted their tourism efforts during the country's neoliberal turn in the early 1990s as part of this global trend (26). Enotourism, or tourism linked to the making, producing, and consuming of wine, is Mendoza's largest tourist sector; more than 70% of Argentina's total wine production comes from the province of Mendoza. The annual *Vendimia* celebrations, or grape harvest festival, represents the region's central tourist attraction and the provincial government's highest cultural expenditure.

Música popular musicians play a crucial role in creating and maintaining the region's local image around wine. In the first part of this chapter, I analyze the unrecognized aspects of musicians' work in creating a regional brand and image for Mendoza's enotourism sector. As such, musicians do not receive proper attribution for their work in the tourism industry. Moving beyond the personal brands discussed in earlier chapters, I argue that wine tourism has developed a dependency on local folkloric styles to offer visitors an intimate experience unique from that of wine destination competitors in other regions. This tendency aligns with the writings of heritage and tourism scholars who

claim heritage adds value to "existing assets that…never were economically productive because an area [was] too hot, too cold, too wet, or too remote" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995: 370). As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett correctly argues, "it is not in the interest of remote destinations that one arrives in a place indistinguishable from the place one left or from thousands of other destinations competing for market share" (371). This is true in Mendoza, where access to many wineries has been limited.[135] Local folkloric musicians attempt to compensate for this problem by providing memorable performances that make visits to vineyards worth the effort. In addition to singing songs that reference wine and winemaking, musicians often perform as background entertainment and also maintain wine drinking customs at shows. I analyze various components of touristic performance as invisible placemaking work. In other words, I view Mendoza's enotourism sector as a value-added industry through folkloric music offerings, though my intent is to identify the erasure of musicians' work in the process. In the second part of the chapter, I explore how musicians and dancers in Vendimia performances invisibilize grape harvesters and their labor. Although the Vendimia supposedly aims to celebrate them, the event's artistic efforts can distract tourist audiences from unsavory realities associated with rural farm work even as it boosts tourism and supports the neoliberal economy. Drawing from autonomist theorists Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri in addition to music scholars such as Kelly

[135] With the influx of visitors in the last several years, train and bus systems have expanded to include many popular wineries on public transportation routes. There has also been an increase in tourist agencies who will transport visitors from the city of Mendoza to surrounding wineries, but these are usually on strict pre-determined schedules as they transport large vans or busses full of visitors together to the same locations. Despite these improvements, many wineries and vineyards remain difficult to access without a private car.

Tatro and Ana Hofman, I focus on the effects of performers' affective work, suggesting that the highlighting of artistry by local media and government entities invisibilizes exploitative field labor. Unrecognized effort in this case thus shifts from musicians to the grape harvesters, whose lack of attribution for their labors in the vineyards creates a situation lacking in regulation and recognition. This case study reversing the focus from musicians to field laborers pushes against the romanticized notion of musicians' work in order to reveal how artistic efforts, when framed in particular ways, can also erase the work of others.

MUSIC, PLACEMAKING, AND UNRECOGNIZED INVISIBLE WORK

Mendoza's reputation as an enotourism destination has only recently been recognized on an international level. During Argentina's first neoliberal turn in the 1990s, tourism became an important economic force in the national economy. This era saw an increase of tourism in parts of the world such as Mendoza not previously considered tourism destinations, in part because of their lack of stereotypical vacation offerings such as beaches. Enotourism represents an important part of a newer movement in wine-producing nations like Argentina, which is among the top five-largest producers in the world (Fidel 2016: 130). Fidel explains, "when I had the opportunity to serve as the Province of Mendoza's Sub-Secretary of Tourism [in the 1990s], we made wine tourism the principal axis of our tourism proposal and a key product of our sales"[136] (2016: 112).

[136] "Cuando tuve la oportunidad de ser subsecretario de Turismo de la Provincia de Mendoza [en los 1990s], tomamos al turismo del vino como eje principal de la propuesta turística y como producto clave dentro de la oferta."

According to the Department of Tourism of Argentine Vineyards,[137] Mendoza's number of yearly enotourists rose from around 323,000 in 2004 to over 1,000,000 by 2013 (Fidel 2016: 123).

Music making in Mendoza helps to create a coherent cultural reputation of the region at local wineries. Fidel describes a wine route, or a particular grouping of enotourism options, as including "an offering of products related to wine or to local art, which in conjunction, reflects the identity of the place and permits [visitors] to see the winery as part of a bigger space"[138] (2016: 56). In Mendoza, folkloric music from the region helps to tie the province's geography and culture together. Sara Cohen maintains that "political and economic developments are continually shifting the way in which particular cities and regions are represented and marketed, and altering relationships between them" (1994: 118). Because of the growing enotourism sector, I argue that many contemporary artists draw upon the nostalgia of older musical styles in order to remain relevant to regional identity formation, but they add lyrics dealing with wine production and consumption that was not as common in the early and mid-20th century. In the following sections, I consider what musical aspects of regional folkloric repertoire have changed in Mendoza as the result of its ties to wine-making, and I provide an analysis of Cuyano song lyrics within the last ten years in comparison to those from the early 20th century. I also discuss the traditions surrounding wine-drinking with performances of the

[137] Departamento de Turismo de Bodegas de Argentina.
[138] "Una oferta de productos relacionados con el vino o con el arte local, que en conjunto reflejan la identidad del lugar y permiten ver a la bodega como parte de un espacio mayor."

cueca cuyana and *tonada,* two particular *especies* of Cuyano folkloric music that are especially popular among música popular artists of the region. Both analyses highlight the ways in which musicians act as invisible promoters for Mendoza's enotourism sectors through their lyrics and musical styles, as well as how their own performance practices continue to require wine consumption at music events. Although artists appear hypervisible on stage, they do not necessarily serve as the focus of attention at wine celebrations. A reliance on wine as an accompaniment to folkloric music reifies locals and tourists' conceptions of Mendoza as a region without recognizing the music practitioners who make such an identification possible.

Tuan's notion of humanistic geography (1977) allows us to consider how folkloric musicians in Mendoza help to forge the region's rural branding image around wine production. He describes the relationships between a space and a place:

> What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value…From the security and stability of place we are aware for the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause (6).

One way in which place is endowed with value is through rural agricultural practices. Mendoza's associations allow visitors to pause and "to feel that for a moment of their life to be art and part of the tradition and culture of wine" (Fidel 2016: 185-86). Enotourism "is not a winery tour, it is an offering of the region's soul and identity, the patrimony and history, the landscape and culture" (185). Once a desertic flatland at the foothills of the

Andes mountains, Mendoza has been discursively transformed into a "magical oasis"[139] and the "land of sun and good wine."[140] In the 1990s, many Mendoza wineries were transformed from spaces that produced wine for commercial sales into welcoming tourist destinations that offered visitors intimate experiences with the art of wine-making and with consumption (55). The neoliberal turn in the 1990s and subsequent focus on tourism in the province helped put Mendoza on the map as a place to visit while enjoying good wine, beautiful scenery, and rural culture. Mendoza's city leadership reinforces this image today by providing folkloric-influenced[141] music and the province's other cultural offerings in touristic settings. Cresswell maintains that a place is socially constructed through meaning and materiality (2004:30). Folkloric music helps to construct Mendoza through both lyrics (meaning) and drinking behaviors (materiality). The tonada's association with wine drinking and the countless cuecas*, gatos,* and other Cuyano regional folkloric especies emphasize Mendoza's geography and the province's rural cultural roots as a coherent whole. While other provinces like Catamarca and Río Negro also have enotourism offerings, Cuyo's regional music affords Mendoza an advantage as a culturally-distinct, wine-dependent province.

[139] The *acequia* irrigation system built by the Huarpe allow the city and the wineries a controlled water flow through ditches and canals that begin with melted snow in the mountains and flow throughout the greater Mendoza area. In 2020, the capital of Mendoza titled their departmental Vendimia "Mendoza: Oasis Mágico" to reflect their technological developments that make Mendoza an important wine region today.
[140] Known as "*tierra del sol y del buen vino.*" Mendoza's tourist shops sell t-shirts and other merchandise with Mendoza's nickname, and the city often uses this phrase in tourism marketing.
[141] By folkloric-influenced, I am referring to all music that either follows the original form and style of regional especies, or it has particular characteristics derived from folk music, such as rhythmic patterns, instrumentation, or harmonic phrases using primarily thirds and sixths.

The lyrics of Cuyano especies demonstrate the close connections between regional folkloric music and Mendoza's wine production. A significant number of albums released today reflect the province's emphasis on tourism and reference wine making or consumption. Although folkloric songs from Cuyo have done so for many years, I argue that the growth of Mendoza's enotourism sector influenced and was influenced by musicians' increased references to wine culture. Of the 110 songs with lyrics from Juan Draghi Lucero's 1938 *Cancionero popular cuyano,* for instance, only one of them, a gato entitled "No plantes viña" (Do not plant [grape] vines), referenced wine making or consumption (615). By contrast, many of my interviewees have released songs in the past decade alluding to themes of vineyards, wineries, and drinking activities. In the next section, I explore drinking traditions associated with folkloric music from the region, and I provide examples of lyric references to wine and music performance in recent folkloric-influenced songs. Finally, I analyze the audio, visual, and lyrical connections to wine in two exemplary music video examples: Nahuel Jofré's "El Vino Pobre/Fin De Cosecha"[142] (2017) and Sergio Santi's "La Parralera"[143] (2018). This small sample of contemporary folkloric-influenced música popular songs by Mendocinos reveals the unrecognized work of musicians as part of Mendoza's local commerce and their contributions to enotourism.

[142] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tPuMa6QhIAA&list=RDtPuMa6QhIAA&start_radio=1
[143] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j_HhxOMKiGo

WINE DRINKING AND FOLKLORIC MUSIC

Though it has become especially important in the province over the last 30 years, Mendoza has a long history of combining wine drinking and folkloric music. As early as 1885, newspaper publications reference such connections. For example, gatos cuyanos of the period included interrupted verses, often improvised, which provided the singer time to drink a glass of wine (Pacheco 2004: 44). A similar tradition, known as an *aro,* can still sometimes be heard in cuecas (Sánchez 2004: 242-43); according to Omar Rodríguez, audience members may interrupt with a toast to a singer when beginning a song's final chorus as a way to prolong the music, and in response the singer will repeat the second part of the song (243).[144] Additionally, *cogollos* continue to serve as an iconic element of tonadas cuyanas. A cogollo is a short, traditionally improvised phrase that comes near the end of a tonada and dedicates it to someone in the audience, calling out the person or people in question (Moreno Chá 2016: 61). Once the singer names the person to whom they dedicate the song, that person is expected to acknowledge and accept the dedication by offering the singer a drink of their wine (63). In more public performances, many singers replace a particular person in their cogollo with "*a todos los presentes*" (everyone present). Because tonadas are such an emblematic especie of Cuyano music, most folkloric-music performances in Mendoza will include at least one, and usually more. Some audience members have offered beer or soda in a pinch, but musicians and audience members

[144] I have not witnessed this during performances of cuecas in my fieldwork, though Sánchez's ethnographic data suggests that many Cuyano musicians of an older generation are used to this occurring in their performances.

generally expect wine. When describing the tonada, Armando Navarro suggested "it is for a group of friends, to listen [to one another], to enjoy a [glass of] wine"[145] (Sánchez 2004: 143). In this way, regional folkloric music styles enhance consumption among performers and music enthusiasts alike. Even at highly commercialized performances in some of Mendoza's largest theaters, it is not uncommon for the stage crew, emcee, or someone in the audience to run onto the stage in order to offer wine to the singer after a tonada. On rare occasions when it is not available or not allowed in a particular venue, the singer almost always acknowledges its absence, implying the 'inauthenticity' of a wine-less folkloric music event. Navarro explains, "The wine is ours, the [wine] industry is ours…everything that is tonada, cueca, gato [the three primary especies of Cuyano music], is related to wine![146] (Sánchez 2004: 242).

Cuyano music lyrics often reference cogollos, thus strengthening the link between the cogollo as a practice and as a common musical theme. Octavio Sánchez argues that Cuyano especies, specifically tonadas and cuecas, often include what he calls themes of "self-referentiality" (*autorreferencialidad*) in the sense that they emphasize a sense of localness (2016: 60). Sánchez categorizes four themes of self-referentiality: 1) songs that refer to past 'heroes' of Cuyano music; 2) songs that refer to especies of Cuyano music, such as cuecas and tonadas; 3) songs that refer to regional geography, such as Cuyo's provinces, cities, landscape, and history; and 4) songs underscoring music's connection to

[145] "es para una rueda de amigos, escucharlos, degustar un vino…"
[146] "el vino es nuestro, la industria es nuestra…¡todo lo que es tonada, cueca, gato, tiene que ver con el vino!"

local wine and wine-making. He explains, "the kind of self-referentiality that I want to expand upon is when a composition makes mention of the [musical] performance in association with the consumption of alcohol. In this respect, there are many works that mention the 'party' or the 'serenade' as spaces of inescapable circulation for the Cuyano musician and where wine is present in an explicit manner" (2016: 77).[147] References to the cogollo within music from Cuyo are one way in which Sánchez argues that musicians tie musical performances to wine drinking. Applying Piercian semiotics, references to cogollos and musical parties function as indices of alcohol consumption for both the musician and the audience, signifying "through co-occurrence with their object in real-time situations" (Turino 1999: 235).[148] Many contemporary, folkloric-influenced songs continue to include references to the cogollo. An examination of my interviewees' releases in the last ten years include many examples:

"Mendoza Bella" chorus, Daniela Trovati (2015)[149]

Somos tonadas	We are tonadas
Somos cogollos	We are cogollos
Hermanos del vino	Brothers of wine
Nacidos del polvo	Born from the dust

"De amor y viña" Lisandro Bertín (2011)[150]

Es la flor del desierto, la más perfumada	It is the most aromatic desert flower

[147] "La modalidad de autorreferencialidad en la que quiero profundizar surge cuando en una composición se hace mención a la performance en asociación con el consume de alcohol. En este sentido existen numerosas obras donde se mencionan 'la farra' o 'la serenata' como espacios de circulación ineludibles para el músico cuyano y donde el vino está presente de manera explícita."

[148] As Turino demonstrates, musical examples are complex signs, and the cogollo references could also serve as symbols.

[149] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PLaVzzevU7Q

[150] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EeBYLR75I-o

El ritmo del buen vino nacido en tierra cuyana	The rhythm of good wine born in Cuyo
Se consuma cuando al alma le gustan buenas tonadas	Consumed when the soul likes good tonadas
Y Mendoza es el cogollo de la fiesta enamorada	And Mendoza is the cogollo of the beloved party

"La tonada es homenaje" Lisandro Bertín (2011)[151]

Si algún día usted se llega hasta Mendoza	If someday you make it to Mendoza
O en San Luis alguien lo enreda en su cordaje	Or in San Luis someone tangles you in their strings
Sepa que en San Juan y en todo Cuyo	Know that in San Juan and all of Cuyo
Hay un cogollo de tonada en su homenaje	There is a tonada cogollo in your tribute

Cuyano musicians continue their unrecognized placemaking work in audiovisual examples today. Gustavo Machado's lyrics and Sergio Santi's music video for their cueca "La Parralera" exemplifies the intimate connection between Cuyano music and wine:

Yo soy un parral cuyano	I am a Cuyano vine arbor
De uva barbera, de uva barbera (bis)	of Barbera grape, of Barbera grape
De me voy haciendo vino	I go making wine
Pa' que me beban, pa' que me beban (bis)	So they can drink me, so they can drink me
Mendocinas mis raíces	Mendocino are my roots
Soy un racimo de cordillera	I am a mountain [grape] bunch
Quiero llenarles la boca	I want to fill mouths
Con esta cueca, con esta cueca (bis)	With this cueca, with this cueca
(Chorus)	
Ay, niña si andás buscando	Ay, girl if you are looking for
Vino de amores teneme en cuenta	lovers' wine, keep me in mind
Yo quiero pintar tus labios	I want to paint your lips

[151] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-y5IYxF0ewM

Con el morado que hay en mis cepas	With the purple I have in my grapevines
Después que probes mi gusto	After you try my taste
No habrá otro vino ya en tu existencia	There won't be another wine in your life
Yo soy un parral maduro	I am a mature vine arbor
Yo estoy bien cerca, yo estoy bien cerca (bis)	I am very close, I am very close
Tu sed me anda precisando	Your thirst needs me
Niña melesca, niña melesca	*melesca*[152] girl, melesca girl
No hagas caso a lo que dicen	Don't pay attention to what they say
Que el vino pasa que al gustar queda	That the wine passes, that the taste remains
Dejarme llegar a tu alma	Let me arrive at your soul
Por tus acequias por tus acequias (bis)	Through your *acequias,*[153] through your acequias

While Santi's song references grape growing and wine making as a metaphor throughout the cueca, his allusions to Mendoza's geography, such as its mountains and acequias, add value to Mendoza as a place. Numerous wineries in Mendoza market the foothills of the Andes Mountains as an important part of their regional marketing image as wine makers and as an enotourism destination. Mountains appear on many bottle labels,[154] and countless wineries have restaurants on their premises, marketing them as much for their stunning mountain views as for their lunch or drink offerings.[155] In this way, Santi's connection to grape bunches from the mountain range and Mendoza's wine reifies a

[152] Melesca refers to the overlooked grapes on a vine after harvesting. It is common for young women to come around after the harvest and collect the leftover grapes in order to make jams and other sweets with them (David Mallcu, personal communication, June 24, 2020).

[153] Santi's reference to Mendoza's aqueduct system is likely a metaphor for a person's arterial system, i.e. wine flowing through one's blood/body.

[154] Some examples include: Catena, Alamos, Lagarde (organic line), Zuccardi Q, Estancia Mendoza, Doña Paula, Durigutti, Santa Julia, Kaiken, Don Miguel Gascón, Trapiche (Oak Cask), and Norton 1895, among many others.

[155] Including Espacio Trapiche, Gaia Restaurant at Domaine Bousquet, Osadía de Crear at Susana Balbo, Renacer, Restaurant at Posada La Celia, Espacio Killka at Salentein, and Espacio Monteviejo, among many others.

primary component of Mendoza's enotourism offerings, which capitalize on the proximity to the Andes foothills in a way that other wine regions of Argentina cannot. Santi's reference to Mendoza's acequias, a key tool for watering vineyards as well as the human-made urban oasis of the capital helps to distinguish the province from other regions of the country. Contemporary folkloric-influenced Cuyano music, then, employs consistent cultural and geographic references as it boosts enotourism.

Figure 19: Highways just outside of the city of Mendoza are lined with vineyards and wineries, marketing views of the Andes as part of their offerings. Photo taken by the author, 2013.

The cueca cuyana as a musical and dance genre have close ties to wine labor, to which Santi also alludes in the visual elements of his music video. Most scholars agree that

the cueca cuyana came from the *zambacueca* in Perú, though its development and influences beyond that are disputed. A characteristic of the cueca cuyana that separates it from its sibling dances in the North of Argentina and across the Andes in Chile is its relatively calm dance movements. While the other cueca derivatives are more 'energetic' and involve more of a jumping step with harsher articulations, the cueca cuyana has subtle movements with no jumps. Scholars speculate that the cueca cuyana is different in this sense because it was originally danced in the *hileras,* the vine rows where harvesters stand in order to pick grapes. Harvesters would pass their time during breaks by dancing cuecas, though the hot Mendoza sun and the lack of shade made dramatic movements difficult,[156] especially after having already labored for various hours.[157] In his music video, Santi invited folkloric dancers Eduardo Terraza and María Luz Blanco to dance in the hileras, which again establishes a distinctive connection between Cuyano music and dance and Mendoza's winemaking traditions. The ending frame of the music video captures a table with two glasses of wine and a plate of clay oven-baked empanadas, two stereotypical staples of Cuyano folklore (Rodríguez and Moreno de Macía 1991: 54-55).

[156] Additionally, the enlarged thyroid disease goiter was common in the region due to a lack of iodine in Mendocino's diets until it was added to salt in 1951 (Perinetti and Staneloni 1970). This painful disease made it difficult to breathe, and thus dance movements became more subtle (Rodríguez and Moreno de Macía 1991: 95).

[157] Gonzalo Lazarrago, personal communication, February 11, 2020.

Figure 20: Still taken from Sergio Santi's music video for "La Parralera." Used with Sergio Santi's permission, 2018.

Lastly, Santi's ensemble orchestration is very typical of Cuyano music, as it often involves various guitars (and sometimes a *guitarrón*) harmonizing in thirds or sixths below the primary guitar line. Also characteristic of Cuyano music are fast melodic runs on the guitar, each note sharply articulated and with a bright timbre. Often, musicians achieve the desired sound quality by using a pick, as they do in the music video. By perpetuating these stylistic elements, folkloric musicians in Cuyo reference Mendoza and its enotourism industry with a unique sonic footprint.

Nahuel Jofré's production of "El vino nuevo/Fin de cosecha" (The New Wine/End of Harvest) exemplifies many similar aspects of Cuyo's folkloric music and dance in relation to Mendoza's wine industry. The lyrics are taken from two poems[158] by Armando

[158] "El Aprendiz de Brujo" and "El Vino del Pobre": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rsg5Fn99Sqo.

Tejada Gómez, one of Cuyo's most renown poets associated with the 1963 *Nuevo Cancionero* movement. They describe the parties of the poor, rural workers in the vineyards:

Cantarme a la fiesta de los pobres	To sing to me at the party of the poor
En aquellos domingos del sol alto	In those Sundays of high sun
Una misa de júbilo en el vino	A Mass of jubilation in the wine
que aturdía de guitarras en el patio	stunned by guitars in the patio

The beginning of the chorus metaphorically compares Juan, the rural worker, to table wine, perhaps conflating Juan's life and his labor:

El vino pobre entra	The poor wine enters
como Juan por su casa	Like Juan [enters] his house
A la casa de Juan	To Juan's house

In these excerpts, "El vino nuevo/Fin de cosecha" brings together images of labor, drinking, and music in a rural setting, furthering Mendoza's brand associated with wine making and agricultural production that attracts large flocks of tourists to experience this distinct way of life for a short time.

Jofré's music video opens with various musicians and family members harvesting grapes together. A couple kisses in the hileras, holding a pair of clippers. The harvesters then bring the baskets of grapes to the de-stemmer machine, separating the fruit to make wine. The video cuts to a man salting a large piece of beef and preparing a fire for an *asado,* a typical Argentine grill-out event. Families and friends gather together and toast with glasses of wine, hug and greet each other, and then dance folkloric styles together in the grass. Jofré and a couple of musicians gather in a circle with a guitar, a hot water thermos

for the popular *mate* drink (serving as an improvised *güiro* scraper), and an inverted plastic bucket serving as a drum. The video switches back and forth from the vineyard gathering to clips of more formal performance settings of Jofré and his music colleagues on stage, merging images of contemporary música popular with the humble, wine-based roots from which the music comes.

Jofré's project illuminates the connections between rural farm labor and contemporary creative efforts in wine and music making. In the description of the video on YouTube, Jofré explains:

> "End of Harvest" is the story of a wine made by family and friends, for happiness and enjoyment. The music, incorporating a poem by Armando Tejada Gómez, is dedicated to the wine "De La Territa," to the Derrache-Gómez family, and to all of the homemade and artisanal wine makers of Mendoza who, organized in associative groups, share the strength and the fruits [of labor], transforming them into wine. It is the first of a series of documentary video clips produced by the cultural collective *De Pago En Pago* of Nahuel Jofré's music with content linked to rural work, families of agriculture associations, and countryside fairs. The objective [of the project] is to promote the local cultural industry, to visibilize the work of cooperatives and associations of rural families, and to document the articulation that exists between both sectors at a local level.[159]

To be sure, the description and video images overly romanticize notions of grape-growing labor as a leisurely family activity, thus invisibilizing grape harvesters who are largely excluded from the creative aspects of wine making. However, in promoting both local

[159] "Fin de Cosecha" es la historia de un vino hecho en familia y con amigos, para la alegría y el disfrute. La música interviniendo un poema de Armando Tejada Gómez, está dedicada al vino "De La Tierrita", a la familia Derrache-Gómez y a todos los elaboradores de vino casero y artesanal de Mendoza que, organizados en grupos asociativos, comparten el esfuerzo y sus frutos, transformándolos en vino. Es el primero de una serie de Video Clips Documentales que realiza el Colectivo Cultural *De Pago En Pago* con músicas de Nahuel Jofré con contenido vinculado al trabajo rural, familias de agricultores asociadas y ferias campesinas. Con el objetivo de promover la industria cultural local, visibilizar el trabajo de cooperativas y asociaciones de familias del campo, y documentar la articulación que existe entre ambos sectores a nivel local.

music making and rural agricultural production as one and the same, the project illuminates the ways in which Mendocino artists define the region's folklore as intimately connected to wine. Funding from both *De Pago En Pago* and the National Institute of Music (INAMU) for this music video attest to the goals of cultural organizations to represent and support local music with ties to geographic and social heritage, which ultimately give Mendoza's wine region an image with more distinction and unique character.

Some of these aspects of Cuyano music and drinking predate neoliberal reforms, though today, all elements work together to emphasize Mendoza's distinct culture. The frequency of folkloric-influenced songs that reference some aspect of wine appears to have increased dramatically since Mendoza has become an enotourism destination.

VENDIMIA

The Vendimia began as an unofficial celebratory event to mark the end of the grape harvest. While the Spanish brought grape vines to Argentina in the 16th century, Mendoza's wine industry took off in the late 19th. Trains and other infrastructure allowed immigrants to arrive to Mendoza more easily, first to work in the vineyards and shortly thereafter to own them (Sevilla and Sevilla 2017: 11). Many Italians and other European immigrants bought land in the department of Maipú and surrounding areas. By 1914, Mendoza had around 1,500 wineries and produced 1.3 million hectoliters of wine (11). Today, Mendoza's production is over 10.2 million hectoliters (10). Grape harvest season in Mendoza begins around January and finishes around April. In the early years of the industry, field laborers and wine makers would celebrate together after a harvest, throwing

parties often involving heavy drinking while playing guitar, singing, and dancing (Pacheco 2004: 37). Transcriptions of song and dance from this period do not exist, however references in newspaper publications suggest that cuecas, gatos, tonadas and habaneras were common (43).

The Vendimia celebrations became an official government-sponsored event in 1936, after the governor of Mendoza, Guillermo Cano, travelled to Italy and attended a small celebration for grape harvesting, which included the election of a queen and the selection of a theme song associated with the celebration (Sevilla and Sevilla 2017: 12). One of Cano's primary projects in office was to boost tourism in Mendoza, and he thought that establishing a grape harvest celebration would entice visitors to the province and simultaneously increase the consumption of Mendoza's wine (12). Vendimias thus became an important ritual for Mendocino society, involving the Blessing of the Fruit (*Bendición de los frutos*), the Central Act (*Acto Central*; see below), various parades through the city (*Vía Blanca* and *Carrusel*), and a beauty pageant culminating with the election of a Harvest Queen (*La Reina Nacional de la Vendimia*).

Today, there are various stages of Vendimia celebrations targeted for both local residents and tourists. As mentioned, celebrations begin in mid-October, and neighborhood districts begin the festivities by hosting beauty pageant contests and directing Central Act performances. These events are small, often attracting less than 200 audience members, and are held in plazas or parks close to the neighborhood. They are free to the public, yet not well advertised outside of neighborhood community circles. In January, larger departmental Vendimia celebrations begin, which include a beauty pageant of all of the

Harvest Queen winners from each neighborhood within the department. While these Central Act performances are much larger and may attract an audience of several thousand, the shows are still primarily aimed at local residents to celebrate their local wine-making culture and vote for their favorite Harvest Queen. Most departmental shows are also free, although many require a donation to the food bank in order to sit on a plastic chair within the fenced audience area. The departmental Vendimias take place in larger city parks. During the first week of March, the largest, provincial Vendimia occurs, which involves the Blessing of the Fruit ceremony, the "Royal *Convivencia*" when all departmental Harvest Queens move into the same hotel and participate in various community outreach projects, the Grape Harvest party at Mendoza's airport vineyard, two parades with floats from each participating department of the province, the first night of the Central Act with the election of the National Harvest Queen, and two repetition nights ending with performances by well-known musicians. Since 1963, The Central Act has taken place in the Frank Romero Day Greek Amphitheater, Argentina's largest amphitheater with a capacity of 18,000 audience members, and room for an additional 10,000 spectators from the peaks of the surrounding Andes foothills (Sevilla and Sevilla 2017:37, 70).

Figure 21: Panoramic shot of the Frank Romero Day Amphitheater at the Central Act performance. Photo taken by author, 2020.

Figure 22: Central Act of the Vendimia on March 9, 2020. Photo taken by author.

All three nights of the Central Act sell out online in hours, and people camp outside of the physical ticket office for more than a week in order to secure the remaining tickets when they go on sale. Tourist agencies around the city act as scalpers, buying large numbers of tickets and selling them to tourists, sometimes for more than nine times their face value. All of the provincial events are heavily geared towards tourists. According to the government press of Mendoza, the 2020 Vendimia attracted more than 71,500 tourists

during the week of festivities and filled 90% of hotels in the Mendoza metro ("Vendimia 2020" 2020).[160]

Music and dance play an important role in making the Vendimia celebrations a success. The Central Act of the provincial celebration contracts over 1,500 artists.[161] Rehearsals begin in January for musicians and February for dancers, and the province pays them the equivalent of $500 USD per month,[162] a respectable salary in the country's current economic crisis. The government's total budget for the 2020 Vendimia was 140 million pesos,[163] around 11.67% of the province's yearly culture and tourism budget ("La Fiesta de la Vendimia 2020 costará $140 millones"). The media also invests a lot of time in marketing the celebration in the weeks preceding primary events. Although musicians' behind-the-scenes preparation is often invisible to audience members, the media overemphasizes the work of Vendimia performers in the weeks leading up to the event, as well as on stage before and after the celebrations. Autonomist theorists Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri suggest that the post-Fordist economy values immaterial labor above all else (though I refer to it here as work following Hannah Arendt's labor-work distinction). One face of such work is affective work, or effort requiring "the creation and manipulation of affects" (Hardt 1999: 96). Kelley Tatro (2014) has shown the benefits of affective work

[160] Remarkably, the 2020 Vendimia occurred even despite the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic. At the time of the festival, there were no known cases of the virus in the Mendoza province, and very few in the rest of the country. Many local residents called for the provincial government to cancel or postpone the event due to the large flux of foreigners planning to travel to the province, but the event went on as planned. The following week all large-scale events were cancelled, and the Mendoza governor shut down the airport and the rest of the city.

[161] Vendimia emcees, March 8, 2020.

[162] Marcos Ríos, Personal Communication, March 10, 2020.

[163] At the time of announcing the budget (January 2020), approximately USD $2.24 million.

in the context of music; specifically, as a tool for creating solidarity among Mexico City's punk artists and fans. In the Vendimia context, the media sensationalizes artists' physical and affective work, producing feelings of pride, awe, and excitement among the audience. Artists' performances then reinforce such affect. But what, and who, do these prominent emotions hide from view, and what consequences result from artistic work as a distraction? In the next section, I analyze some examples of this hyperawareness of artists' work, and I suggest how this highlighting actively invisibilizes the exploitative labor of grape harvesters.

Visilibilizing Performers' Work through Media

From government officials and journalists to stage emcees, the highlighting of Mendoza's work as a community in order to present the National Vendimia Festival is paramount to its success. For example, Alfredo Cornejo, the former Governor of Mendoza, titled his preface to Sevilla and Sevilla's book "Vendimia es trabajo" (Vendimia is work). He writes,

> Work. Everything that encompasses the National Vendimia Festival can be synthesized with this simple word. Because from the colossal Central Act in the Greek Frank Romero Day Theater to the humble altarpiece improvised by a neighborhood to choose who will be their representative in the election of the queen, everything is the result of the labor of thousands of Mendocinos. They made a celebration their own that, although it has existed since 1936, has its origins in the farmhouse dances of grape harvesters' who celebrated the end of the grape harvest with guitars, wines, and songs.[164]

[164] Trabajo. Con esta simple palabra se puede sintetizar todo lo que encierra en sí la Fiesta Nacional de la Vendimia. Porque desde el colosal Acto Central en el Teatro Griego Frank Romero Day hasta el humilde retablo que se improvisa en un barrio para elegir a quien será su representante en la elección de la reina, todo es el resultado de la labor de miles de mendocinos que hicieron suya una celebración que, aunque

Although in this preface Cornejo tips his hat to the grape harvesters who began the tradition of the Vendimia celebrations, his homage focuses on the greater Mendoza community that made the celebration their own and ultimately created the "colossal" Central Act. Because music and dance performers take center stage for the most important Vendimia event, their work is often emphasized more than others.

Performers' preparation work for the Vendimia festivities is highly visible to the general public weeks before the Central Act. For example, news stories document the audition and selection process for contracted artists in each departmental and provincial performance. In addition to newspaper stories, news reports, and advertisement flyers posted throughout the city, a seasonal television program called *Cada día vendimia* (Vendimia Every Day) broadcasts from early February through mid-March that highlights various aspects of the event. Airing Monday through Friday from 9:30-11am, *Cada día vendimia* includes interviews with Vendimia production crews, prop artists, dancers, acrobats, musicians, Harvest Queens, and a plethora of other people involved in the Central Act and culminating Vendimia week.

Most interviews on the *Cada día vendimia* show emphasized the performers' hard work and dedication in order to make the Vendimia a success. For example, Paula García, a former Harvest Queen from 2007 and the 2020 Assistant Producer of the Central Act, explained, "the truth is that we have a lot of musicians who are working very hard right

exista como tal desde 1936, tiene sus orígenes en aquellos bailes que los cosechadores hacían en los galpones tras el fin de la vendimia, entre guitarras, vinos y canciones (2017: 5).

now [so that they sound great for the performance]."[165] In the same episode, a host of *Cada día vendimia* attended a rehearsal of acrobats, explaining to the viewers that the artists must eat and drink well and take care of their hands, feet, and bodies prior to the show. He also explained the role of the safety crew, who the cameraman filmed while they inspected the roof of the venue and verified all hanging equipment for the artists was in good working condition. The following day, a host of *Cada día vendimia* attended a dance rehearsal featuring the almost 600 dancers hired for the Central Act. The television host interviewed some of them, and all emphasized the many years of training they had undergone to reach this point of professional performance. Coco Gras, the Executive Producer of the 2020 Vendimia, described different aspects of preparation for the dance portions of the performance including the "kilos and kilos and kilos of aerial silks" that had to be transported and set up on the performance stage.[166]

Cada día vendimia's emphasis on the backstage and offstage work required for the Central Act gives local viewers a greater understanding of the enormous quantity of physical, economic, and time-related resources needed in order to present the yearly celebration. The interviews and filming of the program reveal the (otherwise) invisible work of performers and artistic staff behind and off the performance stage. Musicians, acrobats, and dancers rehearsing in gym clothes and without props, costumes, stage sound or lighting typically remain hidden from the public's view. *Cada día vendimia* discusses

[165] "La verdad es que tenemos muchísimos músicos que están poniendo garra [para que suene linda]." *Cada día vendimia,* February 13, 2020.
[166] *Cada día vendimia,* February 14, 2020.

and emphasizes performers' hard work at rehearsals, their efforts to physically maintain their bodies, and their years of prior training. Ethnomusicologist Ana Hofman suggests that we re-combine emotional and somatic aspects of performance analysis (2015: 47). The coupling of artists' intellectual and physical work highlighted by the media thus provides a more complete representation of affective work production. In addition, the media highlights the efforts of other essential workers in support of artists, such as the safety and props crews. By concentrating on these preparatory efforts, the focus of the Vendimia remains on stage events rather than the actual grape harvest.

The media's emphasis on musicians' work during the Vendimia season adds prestige to the position and subsequently leads to additional work for artists throughout the year. Performing in the Vendimia is a significant honor that carries credibility when booking other gigs. Often, musicians justify their own or others' aptitude by citing in which Vendimias they have performed. Bands work on recording samples for most of the year in hopes of receiving an invitation to perform in one of the departmental or provincial Vendimia events. One performer noted that the Vendimia work allowed many to make ends meet as artists.[167] When asked how she felt about performing in the Vendimia, an acrobat expressed, "I am very fortunate to get to work in a field that I like."[168] Performers thus express positive feelings and generate excitement for Central Act shows through

[167] *Cada día vendimia,* February 13, 2020.
[168] "Estoy muy afortunada tener un espacio de trabajo que [me] gusta." *Cada día vendimia,* February 13, 2020.

media channels, encouraging the public to view the Vendimia as featuring highly-qualified and engaged artists.

The Central Act emcees also highlight the artists and Mendoza's cultural offerings and in turn help to keep the focus on the festivities. At the 2020 Vendimia, the emcee announced from the stage: "A very good evening to the true protagonists of this party: the workers of the land. [Also], to our artists and to the makers of [our] culture."[169] The other emcee continued, thanking the tourists for joining in the celebration, and building excitement for the artists to soon make their appearance on stage. This passing acknowledgement of the "workers of the land" was quickly forgotten as the focus of the night re-centered around the artists and event staff. Besides a few highly stylized references to agricultural labor through dancers' costumes and props, as I discuss later, emcees made no other mentions of grape harvesters for the rest of the evening.

As Cornejo suggests above in his preface, the media's emphasis on the hard work that goes into the Vendimia performance generates feelings of pride in the wider Mendoza community. The Vendimia as a yearly tradition has become an important identifying factor for Mendoza residents, and they feel lucky to live in a province with prominent forms of art and culture. Additionally, the former Secretary of Culture, Diego Gareca, maintains "The Vendimia is not the product of one day nor the result of the work of a small group of people." Instead, he describes, "from the small district and neighborhood performances to the regional ones, from the clothes of the representatives [the Harvest Queens] to the design

[169] "Muy buenas noches a los verdaderos protagonistas de esta fiesta, los trabajadores de la tierra, a nuestros artistas, y a los hacedores de la cultura." Event emcee, Vendimia Central Act, March 9, 2020. Mendoza

of the floats in the Vía Blanca and the Carrusel [the two most high-profile Vendimia parades], everything comes together into a large activity that requires commitment from thousands of people from the north to the south and from the east to the west in Mendoza" (Sevilla and Sevilla 2017: 7).[170] It is unusual for the media and government to devote so much attention to artists' normally invisible work, especially in a neoliberal context when invisible work continues to increase in numerous industries (Poster, Crain and Cherry 2016: 11-12).

The repeated emphasis on Vendimia artists' backstage and offstage work actively invisibilizes those individuals whom the festival supposedly aims to celebrate: vineyard laborers. Following the work of Gill and Pratt (2008), Hofman writes, "A growing body of literature addressing affective labour in service industries…has been criticized for a naïve celebration of the new proletariat" (2015: 33). I build on this implication that certain manifestations of affective work can harm already-marginalized workers, though I also suggest that the affective workers and exploited laborers do not necessarily have to be the same group of people. My study suggests that a celebration of affective work further invisibilizes laborers outside of what Hardt and Negri deem the informational economy. Harvesters' exclusion from physical participation in the celebration is compounded by logistical barriers like transportation and finances.

[170] "La Vendimia no es un hecho de un día ni el resultado del trabajo de un reducido grupo de personas; desde los pequeños actos distritales y barriales hasta los departamentales, desde la ropa de las representantes hasta el diseño de los carros que desfilarán en la Vía Blanca y en el Carrusel, todo conforma una gran actividad con la que se comprometen miles de personas de norte a sur y de este a oeste en Mendoza."

Grape harvesters in Mendoza are typically seasonal laborers without a contract and their salaries vary widely depending upon their efficiency in the vineyards. Many of them travel to Mendoza from Bolivia or from the Northwest of Argentina, the poorest region of the country.[171] During the harvest, each farm typically employs one *encargado*, a labor supervisor. The encargado stands next to a large dump truck that harvesters fill with grapes. Each time a harvester dumps a full basket of grapes into the truck, the encargado throws a little *ficha* (wooden coin) into their basket. At the end of each week, the harvesters report to the farm owner and exchange their fichas for cash. The vineyards I observed paid between 15 and 20 pesos per basket of grapes (approximately USD 23 cents at the time of harvest), depending on the farm owner's budget and the variety of grapes harvested.[172] Harvesters began laboring in the morning for three to four hours, took a lunch break, and worked another three to four hours in the afternoon. The farm owner introduced me to one of his most productive harvesters who filled an average of almost 100 baskets per day, which translates to a little under USD $120 per week. Other harvesters to whom I spoke averaged less than 20 baskets per shift, though, meaning their weekly salary was only USD $43.70, or approximately 35% of the salaries of Vendimia performers.[173]

[171] More specifically, most laborers who come from the Argentine northwest are from the provinces of Tucumán, Salta, and Jujuy (Maru, personal communication, February 9, 2020)

[172] Franco explained to me that he pays 18 pesos for all of his grape varieties except for Malbec, for which he pays 20. His reasoning for paying more for Malbec is because he gets a higher return on the revenue from those grapes, and he wants them to take their time and do a thorough job of making sure they pick all of them. He also suggested that the vines of Malbec grapes are rougher than some of the other varietals, making it more labor intensive to pick them (Personal Communication, February 18, 2020).

[173] Anonymous grape harvesters, personal communication, February 18, 2020.

Figure 23: The encargado, standing farthest to the right, supervises harvesters on a farm in the department of Lavalle and compensates each full basket with a ficha, while the farm owner watches from afar. Photo by author, 2020.

While they could potentially earn a comfortable living wage themselves if they labored quickly and efficiently, the need for more cash often led harvesters to exploit their children. For instance, I met a family harvesting together at one of the vineyards I visited whose father brings his two sons to help him fill baskets. One of his sons looked to be about 17, and the other was likely 10 or 11. It is difficult to prevent harvesters from bringing along family members due to the quantity-based remuneration system in place. Although half the harvest season takes place over the public school's summer break, the farm owner

explained to me that the kids working in the fields likely did not go to school at all because the financial benefit of their work was too important for their family and the parents ultimately valued it above their children's education. While laws criminalize this kind of child labor, Franco the farm owner explained that many children have nowhere else to go if both of their parents participate in the harvest. As we drove up to one farm in particular, I saw a large group of young children playing under grape-stripped vines. Several of them were clearly too young to work, though it is likely that the older children helped their parents once the farm owner left the premises.

Figure 24: Harvesters and their children riding the tractor home on a late summer afternoon after laboring in the vineyards. Photo by author, 2020.

Laborers lack access to Vendimia stage festivities due to limited transportation options. Many harvesters live on the farm itself in dilapidated houses that the owners provide, while others are picked up from surrounding neighborhoods on a tractor every

morning. At one farm I visited, only half of the harvesters showed up one day because there was only one tractor in operation, and they could not all fit in its attached trailer. Since they do not have their own transportation and the vineyards are several kilometers from residential neighborhoods, they rely on the tractor to get to and from work.

The lack of personal transportation also prevents them from having access to the city of Mendoza, which is close to an hour's drive in any direction from the nearest vineyards. Various parades and celebratory events on the city streets also physically exclude the participation of those living on the peripheries. As Maru, another farm owner, explained to me, working late at the vineyard during a previous harvest season meant that she could not access her home in the city center because of the roadblocks set up for Vendimia parades.[174] Whether intentional or not, the city designs parade routes in a manner that blocks primary access points from a majority of surrounding rural areas. It was thus not surprising when most of the harvesters with whom I spoke expressed little interest in provincial Vendimia celebrations. While many had attended the local district or departmental Vendimias in Lavalle at least once, few ever made it to the culminating Central Act.

Although *Cada Día Vendimia* focuses almost exclusively on cultural workers and Harvest Queens, one episode highlighted interviews with two harvesters who expressed feelings of exclusion. Florentino Moisés Álvarez, a grape harvester in the department of San Carlos, about 105 kilometers south of the city of Mendoza, explained that he had begun

[174] Personal communication, February 9, 2020.

harvesting with his dad at age 12. When he turned 81, he attended the Central Act of the Vendimia for the first time because the government recognized him as the oldest harvester in the province.[175] This example illustrates the long history of child labor in the vineyards, as well as the general exclusion of harvesters from the festival. While the government made it possible for Álvarez to make it to the Vendimia, it was only after 69 years of labor and because he had received special accolades. The labor of most others remains invisible to the wider public and they cannot easily participate in Vendimia celebrations. When asked "¿para vos, qué es la Vendimia?" (What does the Vendimia mean to you?), Alberto Arnez, another grape harvester and now encargado of a vineyard in Luján de Cuyo explained:

> Work that we have, that we live day to day…people usually say Vendimia, we say *cosecha*, but no, the people say Vendimia. A lot of times we don't see it like [a harvest party]. We work here and we cannot go to a party, it is rather complicated for us [to go]. I have never attended the celebrations…We don't feel represented [there]… it does not really interest me.[176]

Arnez's sentiment reveals several ways in which the Vendimia fails to recognize and represent grape harvesters and their labor. Firstly, although "vendimia" roughly translates to grape harvest, Arnez suggests that the word is primarily used to describe grape harvest celebrations rather than the harvest itself. He also separates "the people" from "we," the grape harvesters, underscoring the divide he feels between the celebrations and the realities of the harvest. Secondly, he emphasizes the fact that farm labor is invisible to those in the

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[175] *Cada día Vendimia,* February 20, 2020.

[176] "Un trabajo que nosotros tenemos...que lo vivimos día a día...normalmente le dicen la Vendimia.. Nosotros le decimos cosecha, pero no, la gente le dice Vendimia... Muchas veces no lo vemos así [como una fiesta] porque trabajamos acá y no podemos ir a una fiesta, es medio complicado por nosotros...No he ido nunca [a la fiesta]...no nos sentimos representados...no me llama mucha la atención." *Cada día Vendimia,* February 20, 2020.

city; harvesters do not attend the party and do not feel represented. Towards the end of the interview, Arnez *did* suggest an interest in attending the Vendimia if the government provided harvesters complementary tickets and a means of transportation each year, suggesting that his disinterest in the Vendimia celebrations was mostly a result of his exclusion rather than in not wanting to participate.

Folkloric music and dance play an important role in the lives of many harvesters, with *peñas*[177] representing a common form of entertainment in rural neighborhoods. Most harvesters I interviewed did not consider themselves musicians, but almost all of them had attended a *peña* the weekend prior organized by Colacho, a neighboring farmer. After speaking to Colacho, he invited me to attend the yearly music and dance festival of the neighborhood at which his band was performing. The Jocolí Festival curiously took place on the same evening as the opening night of the provincial Vendimia's Central Act. There was quite a turnout in Jocolí, with approximately 300 people in the audience in a town of 471 residents[178] ("Estadísticas elaboradas por la provincia"). The festival included food stands, music and dance performances on stage, and the nomination of a "Festival Queen," all of which are typical aspects of Vendimia celebrations.

[177] Social music and dance gatherings originating from a participatory approach; Today, some peñas are more formalized recitals in houses and bars, but it still generally implies various artists performing.
[178] The actual number is likely higher during grape harvest season, accounting for seasonal migration and undocumented workers who were not part of this census.

Figure 25: Festival de Jocolí, March 7, 2020. Photo by author.

Thus, the Jocolí Festival serves as a sort of local alternative to the inaccessible Vendimia in the city center. Ángel Cataldo, one of the band members of Las Voces de Jocolí (The Voices of Jocolí), expressed his contempt for the Vendimia Harvest Queens. He told me that they had no knowledge of Mendoza's culture and customs, yet they represent the province.[179] "*Enséñale una cuequita por lo menos!*" (Teach her a little cueca, at least!) he exclaimed. Cataldo, a well-respected musician from Jocolí and descendent of the

[179] A small percentage of Harvest Queen candidates *did* have experience with grape harvesting and Cuyano cultural practices, especially those representing rural departments of the province. However, the large majority of the urban contestants seem to come from middle and upper-middle class homes where Western or cosmopolitan cultural forms are favored over local ones. Cataldo's sentiments echoed an established stereotype of the Harvest Queens that many residents reiterated to me.

indigenous Huarpe people, held deep respect for folkloric music and dance genres. For him, everyone who lived and visited Mendoza should learn Cuyano music and dance styles.[180] Many Jocolí residents seemed to share this opinion, as over half of the town danced with loved ones in the local festival on the sidelines of the stage into the early hours of the next morning.

Central Act performances obscure field labor through misleading representations of dancers as harvesters, as when props associated with grape harvesting appear in performances. At the provincial Central Act, for instance, dancers 'planted' stylized grape seeds that were at least one foot tall and glowed in the dark. Beach ball-sized "grapes" appear at many of the Vendimia celebrations, as well as fake grape baskets that male dancers use as shoulder props; the props weigh next to nothing, while actual baskets full of grapes weigh over 40 pounds, as mentioned. Such representations of grape growing and harvesting erase the physical demands of the harvest. Dancers who gracefully move around the stage with fake baskets on their shoulders trivialize the incredible strength needed to carry the full baskets long distances on the farm. As in the case of Hofman's analysis of *kafana* performers in Socialist Yugoslavia, the affective work of Vendimia perpetuates gendered stereotypes and behaviors, and further invisibilizes women harvesters. Having only male dancers carrying baskets expunges the reality of women who also partake in the same physically demanding tasks on the farm. The sparkly, colorful stage costumes do not

[180] Angél Cataldo, Personal Communication, March 7, 2020.

accurately portray the battered clothing of actual grape harvesters, often replete with holes and dirt or grape juice stains.

Stylized props and cosmopolitan musical genres invent new, positive associations for wine making. For example, at the Maipú departmental Central Act, a "bunch" of grapes made out of disco balls hung from the top of the stage.[181] At the Godoy Cruz Vendimia, several dancers held large wooden planks which formed a giant oak barrel when gathered together in a circle.[182] At the main Central Act, dancers dressed as boxed wine and jumped around the stage as the audience burst out laughing.

Figure 26: Dancers dressed as boxed wine frolic across the stage at the 2020 Vendimia Central Act as audience members burst out in laughter. Photo by author.

Stewart describes a similar situation in orange commercials in the US in which the oranges are personified rather than laborers. He notes that "the anthromorphized oranges

[181] Maipu 2020 Central Act, "Reflejos de Familia en Vendimia." Parque Metropolitano, February 15, 2020.
[182] Godoy Cruz 2020 Central Act, "Espíritus de Vendimia." Parque San Vicente, Feb 1, 2020.

serve as a way to merge images of workers with images of production and thus erase workers' contributions to the process" (2016: 137). Stylized objects on stage serve as an example of Marx's commodity fetishism, giving the impression that grapes and wine are living objects on their own and separating them conceptually from exploitative laboring processes. Sonically, the Central Act relies on a large symphony orchestra to perform the music for the dance numbers, including heavily orchestrated versions of local folkloric genres in addition to transnational genres like reggaeton, Latin pop, and jazz. With the exception of the local folkloric styles which the government requires as part of their heritage preservation projects, these musics cater to tourists' musical interests rather than carrying meaningful associations with grape harvesting.

The *Fiesta de la Cosecha* (Harvest Party) event at Mendoza's airport combines classical and commercial music with grape harvesting, ultimately erasing the realities of field labor. Boasting the world's only airport vineyard, thousands of spectators attend this concert of the local philharmonic orchestra and an invited popular singer, on a stage set up adjacent to the grape vines.[183] Though numerous young fans of the invited pop singer attend the event, many middle-aged and elderly people told me how much they enjoyed listening to the orchestra, either in person or on the live televised broadcast. The event caters to all ages and carries a certain degree of status associated with the symphony. As part of the event, Harvest Queen candidates show up in full-length evening gowns and each help to "harvest" the grapes in the small vineyard. Besides the obvious misrepresentation of field

[183] In 2020, Ciro, a popular rock artist from Buenos Aires, performed with the orchestra.

labor, the Harvest Queens (wearing formal attire and wedding-ready hair and makeup) do not represent the majority of harvesters demographically, most of whom are darker-skinned and of indigenous Argentine or Bolivian heritage. Stewart correctly maintains that "farm labor, an occupation in which dangerous and exploitative working conditions fall disproportionately along lines of race and citizenship, invisibility is a key factor in perpetuating this structural violence" (2016: 130). By contrast, Harvest Queen candidates tend to be some of the fairest-skinned women in Argentina, with blonde or light-colored hair and blue or green eyes, uncommon traits even among European-descendent Argentines. I attended many Vendimias with an Argentine-Bolivian friend who complained during each Harvest Queen election that she never felt represented by the women on stage.[184] I also heard many people ridicule the Harvest Queens' representation of harvesters, claiming that the only experience they have ever had with grapes is their encounters with them at local supermarkets. The Fiesta de la Cosecha is thus an event where local residents and especially tourists come to associate grape harvest labor with white-washed queens and their favorite classical and pop musicians, a process that obscures the unsavory realities of physical exertion, illegal immigration exploitation, extreme poverty, and child labor that more accurately represents wine-making efforts in the region.

The meticulous focus on musicians, dancers, and beauty queens during Vendimia celebrations construct a glamorized image of the grape harvest. Tourists leave the Central Act and other Vendimia events feeling as if they have experienced a grape harvest season

[184] Deo Mendoza, personal communication, February 1, 2020.

in Argentina's most important wine province. Staged folkloric music and dance in the Central Act provide visitors with an ostensibly 'authentic' experience of Mendocino heritage. Local city residents participate vicariously in the 'customs' that define their hometown and leave feeling proud of the impressive spectacle their community provides. At the same time, a focus on musicians' and dancers' work in rehearsal spaces before the performance keeps the audience's focus on the celebration rather than on real grape harvesting occurring at the same time. Though musicians' behind-the-stage work is not often exposed to audience members and the wider public, the Vendimia provides a perfect opportunity to focus on well-paid, appreciative artists who love and honor the event. Art carries positive connotations due to its association with leisure, making it a perfect medium for invisibilizing wine-related labors. Because the government pays artists so well for their participation, focusing on their hard work only adds to the positive feelings surrounding the performance. At the same time, the government, local producers, and other actors in positions of power keep the exploitative labors of the grape harvest invisible, as well as the laborers' physical bodies. Musicians' work can and often does fall victim to processes of invisibilization, yet artistic spectacles of all sorts can also distract tourists, locals, and performers alike from unsettling everyday realities of already-marginalized laborers.

Figure 27: Harvest Queen candidates are introduced on stage before the elections begin for the 2020 City of Mendoza Vendimia. Photo by author.

CONCLUSION

As largely unrecognized workers and laborers, both musicians and grape harvesters contribute to Mendoza's booming enotourism industry. Artists maintain the intimate connections between wine and Cuyano folkloric music, providing local wineries with a coherent cultural product to entice visitors to the remote, desertic region. Even so, musicians are rarely the central focus of attention at winery events, performing mostly in the background as drunken tourists talk loudly over their music. Musicians express their frustration in these venues due to the lack of respect shown by visitors, and feelings of

invisibility, but they take part because they are well paid.[185] Their repertoire foregrounds lyrics about winemaking and wine drinking practices; while such performances may not be recognized directly by listeners, they often facilitate subsequent success in booking gigs and enhancing their national and international profile. Perhaps more importantly, wineries and tourism entities have used folkloric music to market a unique experience to visitors in a way that makes the connection between music and wine seem 'natural.' Musicians do not receive the credit or compensation they probably deserve for creating a distinctive enotourism destination, and many musicians brush off their placemaking work as part of the Cuyano folkloric tradition. My intention in the first part of this chapter was to reconceptualize the culturally constructed music-wine connection as an important form of work in which musicians engage. By doing so, it is my hope that artists and tourism entities will recognize musicians' efforts in this endeavor, and in turn that all parties can benefit financially in more equitable ways.

On the flip side, the Mendoza community recognizes the extent of musicians' work throughout the year during the Vendimia festival, and that of other local performers. Artists' connection to wine becomes hypervisible on stage as they perform for thousands of onlookers in celebration of the grape harvest. Though their enhanced profile as part of this event contrasts with most other performances and placemaking efforts I have discussed earlier, their presence in the spotlight here ironically renders invisible those who labor long hours in the sun at the vineyard itself. Because music is often associated with leisure,

[185] Martín Morales, personal communication, January 11, 2019.

Vendimia musicians' affective work provides the perfect distraction from the physical labor that a winemaking region demands. Following Hofman, I move beyond the celebration of affective work as outlined by Hardt and Negri. Though I acknowledge particular instances of gendered invisibility present in the Vendimia case study (Hofman's primary focus), I am most concerned with revealing that affective work by any artist can further marginalize those whose labor primarily falls outside of the so-called post-industrial, informational economy. In sum, both musical work and farm labor are crucial to sustaining Mendoza's enotourism industry, but they are often overlooked through a focus on consumption and spectacle.

Chapter 6: Conclusion. Artists' Invisible Work in Times of Crisis

Y si salgo a la calle	And if I go out
Él me va agarrar	It's going to get me
Y si salgo a la calle	And if I go out
Me va a contagiar	I am going to get sick
Aunque ustedes no lo vean	Although you all don't see it
Escondido está	It is hidden
Aunque ustedes no lo vean	Although you all don't see it
Esperando está	It is waiting
Si me lavo bien las manos	If I wash my hands well
Se pone a llorar	The virus starts to cry
Cuando veo alcohol en gel	When I see hand sanitizer
Ay! Ya rendido está	Ay! The virus just gives up.

Cristián Gómez, "Gatito Covid-19"[186]

The motivation for this project stems from the increasingly invisible and consequently exploitative work in which musicians and other entertainment and domestic sectors engage on a daily basis. The discursive emphasis on a neoliberal, entrepreneurial spirit over the last several decades in Argentina and elsewhere invites citizens to not only assume personal economic risk but also to devote more time and energy to increasingly demanding tasks in arts management, marketing, policymaking, and instigating social change. Following Isabell Lorey (2019), Ioannis Tsioulakis explains that "as the domain of labour expands over all aspects of our social and affective lives, the distinctions between work and leisure become blurred, thus allowing significant amounts of our occupations to

[186]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L04XoRM4zS4&feature=youtu.be&fbclid=IwAR3Q2Cm1BtOINyypAZKbWdpvHrmUvXgtKQDz-JuQrF2q0qG0Uru1T9dkPXg

go unacknowledged and unpaid" (2020: 117). This happens when friends invite other friends to their house to hang out, but also to listen to an underground performance; when women form collectives through friendship but with the intention of creating more professional opportunities for each other; or when musicians join their neighbors in the streets to fight for clean water but also to reinforce what their personal artistic brand represents. For musicians, Tsioulakis's expanded domain of labor often takes the form of extra-musical work, as I demonstrate in Chapters Two and Four. The introductory chapter explains how invisible work, like farm labor as well as the many industries requiring affective tasks, usually takes unregulated and exploitative forms. Once workers and employers recognize invisible work, the next step is to identify the *processes* of invisibilization that make the abuses associated with such work possible.

I initiated my research on the brink of a global pandemic, which has since caused an enormous amount of sickness and suffering across the world. As a result, unemployment has increased internationally, and the workplace has shifted to the domestic sphere for many of those in the technology and creative sectors. Compounded with the neoliberal ethic pervasive in freelance careers and added burdens of childcare and homeschooling, musicians' invisible work has undoubtedly increased during this time. My hope is that a better understanding of the consequences and processes behind certain workers' invisibilization will lead to empowering precarious workers to demand fairer terms of employment. While most existing studies on musical work involve analyses from the stage (McGinley 2014; Tatro 2014; Hofman 2015) or the studio (Meintjes 2003; Stahl 2013),

this project strives to offer a holistic conceptualization of musical work in a neoliberal context in performance and beyond.

My categorizations of undisclosed, unpaid, undervalued, and unrecognized invisible work should serve as useful descriptors of the fluid and overlapping phenomena described in previous chapters. My intentions for organizing the project in this way are to explore the utility of such categories in revealing the processes by which invisibilization takes place. In the following paragraphs, I reflect further on the conclusions of each chapter and complicate the divisions between distinct categories.

In Chapter Two, I focus on undisclosed work, especially illicit, underground events in homes and backyards undisclosed to the local government. Chapter Two also examines municipally-sponsored ensembles that engage in work to meet the city's social and economic goals without the city fully disclosing to the musicians what those objectives include. I describe how new economic policies and norms encourage the invisibilization of intimate musical spaces from the municipalities' view, while local government agendas and sponsorship have also changed musicians' work in particular ways. The shift from government-sponsored venues to underground spaces added extra-musical work for hosts and organizers, which municipal employees would typically handle at official events. Musical freedom remains intact at underground events however, and many groups experiment with new ensemble configurations or use the space to present original compositions for feedback from friends and other close contacts. Contrastingly, those events and ensembles with municipal sponsorship enjoy work almost exclusively focused on the music and performance. However, the power imbalance between city and individual

musicians results in a prioritization of the municipality's immediate needs and limits musicians' freedom to develop independent careers or to make repertoire or arrangement decisions. Though both of these processes of invisibilization involve undisclosed work, some are also unpaid. For example, the friends who let underground hosts borrow their sound equipment do not receive compensation. Similarly, underground hosts do not make money on events that have a poor turnout. Undisclosed underground concerts can consequently also invisibilize organizers' unpaid work when hosts assume the financial risk of the event and their anticipated profit comes up short. Finally, Chapter Two carries implications for the undervaluation of women; while they can easily perform in relatively low-prestige underground venues intermittently, only men perform in the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra with a fixed income and greater professional recognition. Women interviewees expressed to me that they would love to contract their services to the city by performing with the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra, but as of this writing the orchestra has not invited them to do so. Vicky Lo Giúdice explains her perspective:

> I would like to mention the quality of all guitarists in Mendoza is incredible, and regarding the creation of the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra, I find it shocking that there is not a single woman in the group…It isn't even that you say "fine, there are two or three, and there aren't more female guitarists." I don't understand why there aren't women in that orchestra. It is something that has always really stood out to me (Millán 2018: 49).[187]

Though the ensemble chooses its own members, the local government's sponsorship of the all-male orchestra perpetuates the undervaluation of women's musical work. As an

[187] "Me gustaría mencionar la calidad guitarrística de Mendoza que es increíble, y la creación de la Orquesta de Guitaras Tito Francia que me parece una cosa espectacular con el dato de que no hay ninguna mujer… no es que bueno decís hay dos o tres, no, hay más mujeres guitarristas, no sé por qué no hay mujeres en esa orquesta. Es algo que siempre me hizo mucho ruido."

emblematic ensemble of folkloric-influenced music, the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra perpetuates the domination of men in the performance of folkloric music styles, especially on a 'professional' level. In sum, Chapter Two provides a model for analyzing different forms and consequences of undisclosed work and how they manifest in 'precarious' versus 'stable' working arrangements. Recognizing such differences may help future musicians make calculated employment decisions based on their priorities, market themselves in a way that benefits local government agendas, and ultimately leverage what they have to offer in order to create fairer terms of service.

Chapter Three analyzes unpaid and thus invisible work, primarily focusing on protest concerts and songs relating to social change. It reveals how the neoliberal ethos of self-entrepreneurship, coupled with the increasingly destructive social effects of privatization, leads musicians to invisibilize their own work as they strive for moral capital accumulation. Instead of demanding fair compensation for performances at protest events, most of my informants proudly agree to participate without the expectation of remuneration. Because freelance artists work to create their own marketing brand and image in neoliberal times, their portfolio of performances matters to their overall music profile. The opportunity to participate in political movements and to endorse particular forms of social change helps artists to market themselves. However, it does not help them put food on the table because it only helps them accrue moral capital, not economic capital. In exploring the relations between these different types of accumulation, I suggest a reconceptualization of what constitutes work for performing artists. Even though musicians may categorize protest performances as a moral endeavor, it is important that organizers

not take their efforts for granted. Instead, they should recognize that protest concerts still require musicians to work, and in many cases on a more intense, affective level. Thinking of protest performance as equivalent to other gigs (whether or not it is financially compensated) will, over time, help to visibilize the role of musicians in creating social change and frame their efforts as serious work.

I focus on unpaid work in Chapter Three, but other processes of invisibilization contributed to protesting musicians' erasure as well. For example, the organizers of La Rebelión de las Hojas, the large water protest performance in Central Park, obscured their own identities out of fear that government officials might retaliate against them. Marketing materials listed six directors on the advertising flyer. However, as I spoke to each of them in turn in hopes of finding someone to interview, everyone downplayed the extent of their personal initiative, saying it was a group effort and that numerous people contributed. One contact hesitated to share even her email with me and she ultimately ended up passing my questions off to another person (a man, consequently), whose role in the protest was unclear. Organizers thus decentered any possible responsibility and mitigated retaliation resulting from association with the event by keeping the identities and dynamics of the group leaders undisclosed to outsiders. Though in this situation the artists chose to invisibilize themselves, they simultaneously sacrificed their opportunity to receive credit, publicity, and perhaps future gig contracts.

A focus on women's collectives and policymaking in Chapter Four explored the ways in which concert posters and the folkloric music scene more generally invisibilize women artists through an undervaluation of their work. Undervalued invisible work may

represent the most problematic of the four categories because valuation of work is relative and thus often difficult to measure. However, the chapter's case study clearly demonstrates women's unequal status relative to that of male artists' when booking gigs and playing professionally. When analyzing the work of women in tandem with quota policymaking, the chapter also reveals the *extra* work in which women engage in hopes of opening up more performance space for one another. I argue that women's musical work is undervalued especially in professional and institutionalized folkloric music circles and with respect to other male-dominated genres like *rock nacional*. Chapter Four considers various aspects of female artists' work together in order to visibilize their underrepresentation, their inaccessibility to performance opportunities at large festivals, and the additional efforts they undertake in forming collectives and opening up professional spaces for one another. Taken together, this chapter highlights the undervaluation of women artists today, and it also confirms that more opportunities are possible when women push back together against patriarchal systems. Changes in compensation and employment opportunities will likely become even more evident after the LMFQ has more time to take effect.

As a result of their undervaluation, many women also engage in unpaid work as they attempt to make artistic activities more hospitable to women. These include organizing protest concerts in order to fight for gender rights, drafting and presenting proposed legislation to local and national governing bodies related to gender equality, and compiling resources or devising strategies for women musicians in order to support their professional activities. Another form of invisible work that manifests in Chapter Four's case studies is

unrecognized work for particular venue owners. For example, one café owned and operated entirely by women, Casa Kiriku, consistently hosted women musicians to perform in their restaurant. Consequently, the space allowed women to perform in an official venue whose owners could make some money from the cover charge. The owners of Casa Kiriku went unrecognized for their efforts in opening up such a concert space and in turn providing an alternative to the existing patriarchal concert circuit.[188]

Lastly, in Chapter Five I focus on unrecognized work. This includes unrecognized work by musicians that maintains a regional identity for Mendoza's wine tourism sector, and unrecognized affective work that obscures the conditions of field laborers during Mendoza's annual grape harvest. Song lyrics associated with wine making and performance traditions that involve wine drinking help link regional music styles to Mendoza's wine industry, despite the fact that most tourists and wineries do not recognize these intimate associations between the two. An exploration of these connections provides musicians additional ways in which they can potentially market their music making as a valuable asset for the tourism industry. If musicians' work directly supports other economic sectors, then they should capitalize on them so as to benefit everyone, including themselves. In the second part of this chapter, I demonstrate that artists' affective work in the Vendimia serves as a distraction to tourists and locals, erasing exploitative rural labor from the province's wine offerings. A focus on artistic work leading up to the event foregrounds performance rather than the grape harvest itself. Similarly, well paid artists at

[188] Unfortunately, Casa Kiriku closed its doors permanently at the end of 2019.

the Vendimia evoke feelings of gratefulness and pride among Mendocino artists and locals, maintaining a positive affect throughout the festival season. The purpose of including this segment is to recognize the power of artistic performance to create and shape particular narratives. While I argue in the first part of the chapter that musicians should be aware of this power in order to benefit their own careers, my intention is not to romanticize the notion of musicians as invisible workers. Instead, I suggest that musicians can and do also erase the work and labor of others who may be in even more precarious positions than themselves, and it is the responsibility of all artists to understand the consequences of narratives shaped by their work.

As in preceding chapters, multiple forms of invisible work and labor are evident in the Chapter Five case studies. Since musicians are unrecognized for creating a distinct sonic footprint in relation to Mendoza's enotourism industry, they do not receive compensation for their role in supporting the province's largest economic sector (making their work unpaid as well). And grape harvesters can be viewed as undervalued in addition to unrecognized laborers, given that their low salaries and temporary contracts suggest their disposability in the eyes of farmers. Many harvest workers are undocumented and thus have no legal right to live and work in the country; the contract-less and exploitative nature of their contracts remain undisclosed to governing bodies.

I intentionally complicate my proposed analytical categories here to suggest that different invisibilizing processes occur simultaneously and that the analytical categories overlap with one another. This underscores the complexity of visibilizing any of the groups of people or situations discussed. The various layers or elements of invisibility reinforce

one another, and each one requires identification and negotiation before real change will ensue. For example, the problems associated with grape harvesters' invisibilization would not significantly improve with a mere recognition of their work at Vendimia celebrations. While that would represent one important means of visibilizing farm labor, the undervalued nature of their work due to their immigration status would also need to change, likely through changes to labor laws that afforded them higher salaries and regular contracts.

Neoliberal ideologies favor the invisibility of workers in many instances, contributing to a society in which already-oppressive systems of work are exacerbated through deregulation. Guilbault argues that "neoliberalism has subjected artists and entrepreneurs…to forms of discipline that have also involved inequalities and exclusions" (2007: 265). While most enjoy the freedom to choose their own career path, it is paramount that employers and governing bodies put safeguards in place to protect them from unfair business practices in the ever-increasing gig and informal economic sectors. In the words of Polanyi, "the true criticism of market society is not that it [is] based on economics…but that its economy [is] based on self-interest" (1944: 257).[189] Self-interested actors, particularly those with power, inevitably maintain systemic inequalities and facilitate greater deregulation and exploitation of marginalized workers. Oftentimes, the socioeconomic status, race, and/or gender of these powerful actors contributes to their privileged position in the so-called 'free market,' affording them extra layers of security. Neoliberal economies perpetuate systemic inequalities because those in advantageous

[189] Though writing before the emergence of neoliberalism, Polanyi was one of the first to warn of the perils of free market society.

positions often claim that others are not working hard enough, rather than acknowledging structural factors that maintain the subjugation of certain populations.

REFLECTIONS ON RESEARCH

Like any ethnography, the findings of my project are inescapably limited to the particularities of my case studies and the place and time they occur. The project would benefit from more research on other musical genres and on comparative analysis in different countries to understand the varying contexts of worker invisibilization. I undertook my research at a very specific moment in Argentina's history. Though the country has dealt with many economic crises before, the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic will undoubtedly put additional strain on the economic system, and the nature of invisible work may change as a result. Tsioulakis describes similar processes among musicians after the Greek Crisis in 2010.[190] He writes, "in this environment, musicians' descriptions of—and responses to—The Crisis are especially intriguing in the way that they grapple with two widely accepted facts: that musical labour has always been precarious, and yet that somehow this new era of austerity and recession has affected their livelihoods and self-conceptions in unprecedented ways" (2020: 112). He maintains that "with even fewer opportunities of concrete employment than they are accustomed to, musicians struggle to gain control over their conduct, experiencing precarity in ways that radically redefine how

[190] The Great Recession in 2008 spurred the Greek Crisis in 2010, requiring multi-billion-dollar bailouts from the European Central Bank, the European Commission, and the International Monetary Fund (Tsioulakis 2020: 7). The economic effects of these loans and subsequent austerity measures were devasting. As Tsioulakis explains, "households and individuals who enjoyed relative economic prosperity and stability have now become the 'new poor'" (7).

they act and ultimately who they are" (228). In the Greek context, this includes performing music styles that they do not enjoy in order to pay the bills, leading some musicians to reflect on why they chose a performance career in the first place (124). Others began playing in new contexts such as busking on the streets instead of relying on official contracts to make ends meet. Tsioulakis also recounts examples of musicians who were once bandmates and friends turning on one another in a hypercompetitive performance climate, ultimately concerned only with their own well-being (132).

I see parallels between the crises in Greece and Argentina, especially in terms of how Argentine musicians find new ways to respond to exceptional economic difficulties like securing municipal sponsorship, creating underground performance opportunities, and holding didactic workshops for the public. However, Argentine musicians seem to practice more solidarity, promoting one another's careers through the trading of favors and invitations to perform. This contrasts with Greece, where most musicians seem to fend for themselves.[191]

More research on musicians in the US is needed for a thorough comparison with the Argentine case as well; my initial observations during the pandemic suggest similar trends of increasingly invisible work. Underground networks and house concerts are commonplace in most urban areas in the country, which involve the effort of organizing, marketing, and executing events, as I discuss in Chapter 2.[192] In the case of women artists,

[191] One exception to this includes the artist solidarity fundraiser concerts that one of Tsioulakis's informants talks about (2020: 128), however it appears to have been relatively short-lived.
[192] The reasons behind hosting underground events in the US likely differ from the Argentine context I explore because US musicians typically organize intimate events for artistic rather than primarily economic reasons.

their invisibility in the States is similar to that in Argentina, although on a lesser scale. A study conducted by feminist journalist Auska Ovando indicates that representation of female performing artists in US-based festivals of Latin American or Latinx music is slightly over 30%,[193] significantly higher than the average 10% in Argentina. To my knowledge, there has been no widespread effort to adopt legislation fighting for greater gender equality in performance venues in the US, though I have noticed increasing solidarity among women musicians in certain circles. For example, primarily US-based women bass players recently created a private page on social media to discuss gender inequality among mostly classical bassists, as well as strategies for promoting women artists. Some have suggested organizing a separate women's bass conference, similar to that of the Mujer Trova event and the Encuentro Nacional de Música de Mujeres (see Chapter Four). I have noticed US female bassists supporting one another much more than even ten years ago, both in private social media groups and publicly. Women artists in the US still generally engage in more work than their male counterparts, indicating that US society still places a lower value on their time and expertise. Unpaid invisible work is also a major problem for US musicians of all genders, especially for early-career bands who are only invited to perform for the "exposure" or for food and drink credits rather than for adequate pay. Like in Argentina, some US musicians participate in social movements with their art, though benefit concerts rather than true protest concerts seem to be more common for US artists who agree to play for free. Lastly, musicians' work in the US also involves

[193] However, this is only based on a study of one particular festival, the Ruido Fest. More research is needed to confirm whether the United States has a higher average percentage of involvement from female musicians across genres and festivals.

placemaking efforts, a largely unacknowledged and uncompensated aspect of their professional activities. Musical work in the US plays a role in distracting tourists and locals and in obscuring the realities of exploitative field labor (as discussed in Chapter Five); One example may include the annual Louisiana Sugar Cane Festival, where they similarly host beauty queens, musicians, and other performers to 'celebrate' the harvest of sugar cane.[194] In sum, many of the invisible tasks in which Argentine musicians engage have a corollary in the United States. However, unlike in Argentina, before the pandemic many US musicians found work easily, especially in restaurants, bars, and other urban entertainment venues. Publicly funded festivals are not as common in the US as they are in Argentina, forcing musicians to seek gigs in the private sphere. Their income and working conditions were still precarious, but as Tsioulakis points out that situation comes with the territory of making a living as a creative worker. US musicians have not had to deal with precarious working conditions on top of a major economic crisis, although that may change when the effects of the pandemic are fully manifest. Further exploration of the intersections between music and neoliberal economics is needed in order to understand the forms that invisible work takes in different contexts. But regardless, my project should serve as a starting point for identifying common processes and characteristics of invisibilization.

Economic and social policies have an important effect on how artistic workers approach entrepreneurship and performance internationally. In France, for example, artists who work at least 43 gigs within a 10-month period are considered professional musicians

[194] http://hisugar.org/wordpress/ More research is needed to know how this festival similarly excludes sugar cane harvesters or not from the festivities, but it does appear to have similar components to the Vendimia; The 2020 Louisiana Sugar Cane Festival was cancelled due to Covid-19.

(*intermittents du spectacle*) for the sake of income reporting and are eligible for an unemployment benefit for the proceeding eight months (Perrenoud and Bataille 2017: 595). This leads many musicians to take every gig they can secure in order to reach the 43 required performances. By contrast, Switzerland also has an "intermittent" schema for performing artists, but they base the unemployment package on how many hours a musician works in an average week over a period of ten months. Since musicians usually officially (read: visibly) work only a few hours on weekends, the structuration of unemployment benefits makes it extremely difficult to work exclusively as a performer (ibid., 596). As Perrenoud and Batille demonstrate, differences in unemployment policies (as well as related health benefits, projected retirement income, etc.) for creative workers can drastically change how a musician's work is conceived officially and as a result the number of individuals who choose a career in the arts. Thus, studies of the invisibilization of musical work should be undertaken in tandem with suggestions for concrete legislative changes, a topic this project touches on in Chapters Two and Four but could benefit from a more thorough analysis. Identifying the invisible aspects of musicians' work and reporting all such activities to the state could make claiming professional artistic status easier in countries like Switzerland.

I attribute various characteristics of invisible work, such as increased entrepreneurial activity in the informal economy and environmental and social protest work, to the effects neoliberalism. Though I explain my conception of neoliberalism as both an economic strategy and social epistemology, some may argue that such an approach results in an overly diffuse understanding. While I acknowledge that my use of

neoliberalism in this project is broad, I find it useful to consider how social and economic changes have resulted in new working norms and ethics. As Poster, Crain, and Cherry (2016) confirm, there does seem to be a direct correlation between an increase in invisible and unregulated work and the neoliberal economic reforms enacted around the world. It is my hope that my analysis of neoliberal policies and paradigms helps to reveal multiple invisibilizing processes.

NEW DIRECTIONS

As mentioned, I envision many future directions for my research on music and neoliberalism. Within Mendoza, a greater focus on the activities of non-binary and gender non-conforming musicians would add new voices to the conversation. One approach to incorporate them includes adding a case study on the *Vendimia para todxs* event. This annual all-night party with queer DJs and queer Vendimia queens occurs two weeks after official Vendimia festivities. Like its name suggests (Vendimia for all [gender neutral]), the event resulted from queer Mendocinos' exclusion from the heteronormative beauty queen contests. Though originally I had plans to incorporate these concerts into the project, health officials asked organizers to postpone their concert at the last minute due to rising health concerns with the Covid-19 pandemic. Thus, ethnographic work in that context has been delayed.

Likewise, my research could extend its focus on racial minorities, in order to counter the longstanding assertion among my informants that racial discrimination and oppression do not exist in Argentina. While I touch on the topic of indigeneity in Chapter

5, more focus on indigenous musicians' work represents an important future direction for my research in order to reveal the processes contributing to their erasure. Oscar Chamosa, for instance, explains how sugar mill owners of the early 1900s in Argentina's Northwest provinces worked with folklorists such as Isabel Aretz and Carlos Vega, and how they maintained a narrative of exclusively white workers and musicians in order to advance particular political and economic goals (2010).[195] Eric Johns similarly outlines the invisibilization of black Buenos Aires tango musicians during the same period (2020). Much work remains to be done in order to connect historical narratives of racial erasure and white-washing to current representations of Argentine folklore-influenced música popular, and specifically how such processes play out in the Cuyo region.

An analysis of institutional music training was beyond the scope of my initial project, but additional investigation of that topic may reveal important information about the invisibilizing and exclusion of minorities and women, as well as how institutions of higher education themselves respond to the pressures of neoliberalism. When the música popular program began at UNCuyo in 2004, for instance, only about 30 of the initial 100 students enrolled were women. When I studied in Mendoza in 2013, male students comprised the majority of my música popular peers, and I was one of only two women in

[195] Argentine sugar mill owners wanted to sell their sugar for higher prices than those set by countries like Brazil, Cuba, and the United States. In order to do this, sugar mill owners sought to create a narrative of the Argentine Northwest as populated primarily by white workers, suggesting that the competing countries' sugar was 'tainted' by the exploitative black labor forced upon its residents. Folklorists helped to create this image by white-washing their documentations of sugar mill music and folkloric traditions, suggesting an absence of Afro-descendent musical forms and downplaying the indigenous influences. In reality, sugar mills in the Argentine Northwest operated much the same as the other countries: they largely employed people of color rather than white workers. See Chamosa 2010 for a detailed history of the relationship between the sugar mill owners' political and economic goals and the work of folklorists.

the 25-person bass studio. Today, interviewees tell me the música popular program is much closer to having equal male-to-female student ratio, though women still prefer to join the vocal program rather than guitar or other instrumental career tracks. I suspect that certain stereotypes and 'androcentric cultures' continue to affect how music students and faculty view female performers. Minority populations also appear to face barriers to higher education in music. Though the public university is free to attend, most students take many years of private instruction beforehand (just like in the US) in order to ensure a successful audition. This discourages students from lower-income or racially marginalized families without access to private instruction. Almost all successful música popular musicians with whom I spoke in Mendoza had prior music training at the university. Because formal training does not necessarily imply better musicianship in the folkloric music context, the fact that almost everyone with paid gigs had taken university music courses suggests that networking activities may take place on campus, ultimately furthering the careers of those with connections to the music school over others. A study of the relationships between the performing community in Mendoza and the music school would thus be a useful direction for future work.

Lastly, additional analysis of the LMFQ will be needed once it has more time to take effect and once the government lifts Covid-19 restrictions. The majority of my research on the legislation was conducted right before Argentina's mandatory closure of borders and quarantining of the population. The ways in which invisible work manifest in Argentina after Covid-19 settles down could look starkly different from the ways it looked during my time there. In the next section, I discuss how I observed musicians' work

changing during the height of the pandemic, from approximately mid-March through the time of this writing in November 2020.

MUSICAL WORK IN THE TIME OF A PANDEMIC

Like most activities during the Covid-19 pandemic, music events went online. Many of my interviewees streamed live concerts and song premiers through social media pages such as Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. Underground concerts have disappeared for now, as artists stream concerts for their audiences virtually. Women's collectives such as *Mujer Trova* have organized donation-based livestream events supporting an artists' relief fund for female performers who are struggling financially. New female collectives such as *Las Cumparsitas* formed during this time through online activities, quickly adding members from around the country. According to the group's founder, Las Cumparsitas strive to "visibilize original works by women and the work of their female teachers, who are also invisible despite opening up paths for younger generations."[196] The Encuentro Nacional de Música de Mujeres moved their conference online to promote female and non-binary performers. Many of my interviewees such as Analía Garcetti, Daniela Trovati, Marcos Ríos, Cristián Gómez, and Melisa Budini have also released new albums or singles recorded mostly before the stay-at-home order went into effect.

[196] María Eugenia Díaz, personal communication. November 4, 2020. "Visibilizamos nuestra canción de autora, y la obra de nuestras maestras (también casi invisibilizadas, que fueron abriendo el camino)."

The Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra is unable to rehearse or perform together, but members continue to work on new material at home in hopes of resuming normal activities. Thankfully, they continue to receive their monthly salary and social benefits from the municipality; however, the amount of money they are paid has remained constant despite skyrocketing inflation since March. The peso lost half of its value yet again during the first six months of the pandemic. In other words, ensemble members now receive the equivalent of around USD $90 per month, half of what they made at the beginning of 2020. The pandemic thus exacerbates the finances of many musicians as well as countless others whose businesses have been forced to close down during the stay-at-home order. With overwhelmed healthcare systems in larger cities and an increase in Covid cases even as of this writing, there seems to be little hope that live music events will reopen in the near future.

Governmental and non-governmental agencies have established various relief funds for musicians to counter the economic fallout of the pandemic. The Instituto Nacional de Música (INAMU) established a scholarship program to help musicians in need through a donation initiative called the *Fondo Musical-Solidario* (Musical Solidarity Fund). On their webpage, the leadership states, "No hay soluciones individuales para los problemas colectivos" (There are no individual solutions to collective problems). Due to limited donations, however, payments from the relief fund are often difficult to come by; INAMU strives to modestly assist rather than fully compensate musicians for their income losses. The national Ministry of Culture also established a relief project called *Fortalecer Cultura* (Strengthen Culture) on October 16, 2020. If eligible and while funds last, cultural

workers receive a maximum of 15,000 pesos per month (around USD $193) for three months.

The federal government has unfortunately disqualified Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra musicians from applying for pandemic relief funds. Although $90 per month is not enough to live on, government guidelines disqualify anyone registered as a municipal worker from applying for support in an effort to help others who need it more. Members still receive health benefits and a minimal salary, yet payouts from the unemployment programs that the government offers are much more substantial than what the orchestra members currently receive. Marcos Ríos, a bassist in the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra, shared his story with me. He auditioned for a substitute performer position in the Mendoza Philharmonic in January 2020, before the pandemic began. He won the spot, along with twenty other musicians on different instruments. Marcos said the position was great because they called the substitutes once or twice a month to perform, and every week he worked with the Philharmonic they paid him the equivalent of his monthly salary with the Tito Francia Guitar Orchestra. When the pandemic began, all substitute performers were told that the Philharmonic would include them in various projects they could undertake from home, such as recording virtual music to share with the community, and that they would be paid for those videos as if they had performed live. However, the Philharmonic never called the substitutes again. Even after the twenty new members drafted several letters to those in charge, they did not receive a response or any sort of help. Marcos applied to all relief scholarships available in the country, but because of his status with the Tito

Francia ensemble, he was ineligible and had to make do with his $90 monthly salary.[197] While other provinces like Buenos Aires have their own relief funds, the Mendoza government does not provide any subsidy for local musicians as of this writing. The only financial relief Marcos successfully secured was through the United States-based International Society of Bassists, which is not an option for most musicians in Mendoza.

Workers' need for social protections is even more important during a pandemic, as the testimony above demonstrates. Many creative workers in the gig economy are currently limited to generating revenue through online sources such as streaming concerts, or by applying to limited artist relief funds. Policymakers and artistic employers (such as the Municipality of Guaymallén) must take into consideration the availability (or lack) of social protections for gig workers. Placing all of the economic burden of a crisis such as the pandemic on workers creates a dire situation for the entire community.

The connection between Cuyano music and wine continues through online platforms, though in significantly altered form. For instance, Pablo Budini and Juan Carlos Romero of the Duo Romero Budini livestreamed a folkloric music concert on Facebook on October 17, 2020. Audience members wrote "aro aro aro"[198] in the chat, but the musicians could not see such 'interruptions' before they finished performing. Other audience members wrote "salud" (cheers) in the comments section, followed by emojis of glasses of wine. The musicians acknowledged the toasts and said they would be drinking wine after

[197] Marcos Ríos, personal communication. October 17, 2020.
[198] As discussed in Chapter 5, this is the word that audience members shout when they want to interrupt the musician and have them drink a glass of wine in the middle of the song, starting again from the second part of the cueca in order to elongate it.

the concert, but since they were in a recording studio they probably did not have drinks next to them as they might have at almost any public concert. At least in the short term, the absence of wine at internet events is pronounced in comparison with the pre-Covid period.

The tourism sector has, of course, taken a hit during the pandemic from the moment the governor of Mendoza closed its borders to outside guests on March 19, 2020. While the province held all Vendimia events as planned in early March 2020 despite many local calls to cancel or postpone them, the Vendimia seems to have been cancelled for the current year (neighborhood celebrations were to have started in October but have not materialized).[199] This is unfortunate news for musicians and dancers who supplement slower performance months with government support through their participation in the festival. In addition, Mendoza's stay-at-home orders have continued to be very strict in comparison to those in the United States and elsewhere. The population has been divided into two groups based on their social identification numbers, and they are only allowed to leave their homes every other day (except for work). Although music events, both indoors and outdoors, have begun to take place once again in various US states, Argentine musicians have not been permitted to do so yet.

Despite the Argentine lockdown, musicians and other environmental advocates continue to protest the harmful effects of neoliberal policies. Musicians have organized stay-at-home water protest concerts, reminding Mendocinos and government officials alike that water safety is still a pressing issue. In addition, online protests have swept the country

[199] In late August 2020, the Province of Mendoza released a statement suggesting that they plan to host some sort of virtual or "movie" Vendimia event for 2021, though they have yet to announce details.

to bring awareness to the raging fires in Córdoba, in the Paraná Delta near Rosario, and in surrounding provinces. While the fall 2020 US fires in Oregon and California received a lot of news coverage internationally, even the local media in Argentina has overlooked the fact that parts of at least 11 of Argentina's 23 provinces are currently burning as well. Musicians held livestream protest events to bring awareness to the fires and to call on governmental officials for a "wetlands law" (*ley de humedales*). Environmental activists blame the uncontrollable fires on the destruction of Argentina's wetlands through cattle raising, mining, and other large-scale economic activities. The wetlands law would provide protections for approximately 21% of Argentina's surface area. Musicians are also organizing virtual benefit concerts, such as the two-part *Festival Apagar* on September 13 and 20, 2020, to help with the immediate needs of those who have been affected by the fires. Paula Neder and Melisa Budini wrote and recorded a cumbia-style song titled "Fuego en el humedal"[200] (Fire in the Wetland) with musicians Sebastián Narvaez and Leandro Lacerna to bring awareness to the issue and to push for urgent legislation. Below is a short excerpt of its lyrics:

Fuego! gritan desde el humedal	Fire! they scream from the wetland
Fuego! gritan Río Paraná	Fire! they scream from the Paraná River
Fuego prenden y no ha de parar	They start the fire and there is no stopping it
La ley de humedales no puede esperar	The law of the wetlands cannot wait
Queremos saber	We want to know
¿de quién es la mano que quiere quemar?	who wants the wetlands to burn?
El humo se aspira desde la ciudad	The smoke is inhaled even from the city
En un escritorio el fósforo está	In a desk sits the match [that lit the fire]
Se firman acuerdos de forma virtual	Those in favor [of the law] sign virtually

[200] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7eMD8AQ4V8o&feature=share&fbclid=IwAR3ZJ71PZ5PWNw1_m8jeVp1mjSqQBCOznRhhIDuPfDShAZXdZ8UmkS1LSNM

Y a fuera se escucha	And outside it can be heard
La gente que grita y que no va a callar	The people that scream and that will not quiet down [until a law is passed]

Like Diego Guiñazú's water activist song "Somos el agua que no se toca" (We are the water that isn't touched, discussed in Chapter Three), Melisa and Paula wanted to create more awareness and keep the 'marches' for environmental improvements alive during the stay-at-home order. The lyrics above also allude to the new situation of the pandemic, and how those in support of protecting the wetlands should show their solidarity virtually. In other words, they suggest the fight for environmental wellbeing cannot stop because of the virus.

Though many of Budini and Neder's songs are rooted in folkloric styles, they chose to perform "Fuego en el humedal" in a style influenced by cumbia, as mentioned. Budini explains their reasoning for this choice:

> Cumbia has supported our movement, we were thinking a little about that, the way it accompanied the protests that were being produced and already happening in support of protecting the wetlands. So, it seemed the cumbia could unite the masses, the people of the town, the people that march in the streets. The genre has to do with that, with the masses, with the streets, and a little bit also with the strength of the fire, and happiness, no? Because although we are singing about something that is very hard to deal with, and very sad, we are singing with a lot of impetus, with a lot of energy and strength to improve the situation, you see? We strive to create movement, so that we unite a multitude [of supporters]. Also, [the cumbia] sound stays with you, you know? [We wanted to write something] singable, easily remembered; this was the idea.[201]

[201] Melisa Budini, personal communication. October 21, 2020. "La cumbia era fuerza del movimiento un poco pensando en acompañar las marchas que se están produciendo que se están haciendo que están llevando a cabo por los humedales. Entonces la cumbia es como si uniera la parte popular la parte del pueblo la parte que sale a la calle tiene que ver con eso, con las masas con las calles y un poco también con la fuerza del fuego y de la alegría, ¿no? Por más que estamos cantando algo que es muy duro y que es muy triste estamos cantando con mucho ímpetu con mucha energía de fuerza y de para arriba viste de que haga mover de que haga la multitud que llegue, que se pegue también en el oído, ¿no? cantable, fácil recordable, eso fue la idea."

There has not yet been a wetlands law passed, but the duo's song received a fair amount of attention online, with around 5,000 views since its posting in late August, and over 45 shares on social media. By way of comparison, Budini's duo Tardeagua released a new song on YouTube just six days earlier than the release of "Fuego en el humedal." Their new song, titled "Decir sí" is performed with two voices, guitar, and *cajón*, reflecting a style closer to música popular with roots in folkloric styles.[202] Currently, "Decir sí" has only 36 views on YouTube. Thus, the content and more commercial musical style of "Fuego en el humedal" likely gave them more recognition.

Cristián Gómez wrote and recorded "Gatito Covid-19" in May 2020 in efforts to teach his young music students about the novel coronavirus as well as give them an example of the form and style of a *gato cuyano.* The lyrics in the song's second section, which I share at the opening of this chapter, suggest that hiding from the virus (i.e. staying home) is the best strategy to avoid getting sick. The virus itself, Gómez explains, is invisible to the naked eye and thus it is better to avoid situations where one could become infected. Getting sick ultimately visibilizes the virus through symptoms that manifest in the host. Using this situation as a metaphor for invisible workers,[203] one might describe

[202] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MGZrTcTpMRg&feature=share&fbclid=IwAR3zOGd2Lj3yhJH_axbrqq95aedr_xxs91y7kBHKP7zWKY62kgZdD0Kstzc

[203] This metaphor is a fragile one, and I do not suggest that invisible workers *are* a virus nor that the novel Coronavirus needs more visibility beyond the scope of research, vaccines, and treatment. I only link Gómez's lyrics of lurking invisible viruses and marginalized workers' subjectivities to the extent that they both represent actors that deserve more analysis and resources to protect citizens. In the former, the resources need to protect citizens against the virus's ill effects, and in the latter, the resources need to protect the marginalized workers themselves, who are in positions of precarity.

people in positions of power as hiding from the 'virus' of inequality and the invisibility of the marginalized. Invisibility perpetuates and maintains systemic inequality, while at the same time reducing any threat to powerful actors. The international celebration of neoliberal values of late has made it easier to invisibilize marginalized populations. Cultural policymakers, employers, and the general public do not recognize the important yet unseen work of musicians. Problems of deregulation and systemic issues of gender and racial oppression are to blame for many of these processes. It is my hope that through exposing some of the complicated layers of invisible and invisibilizing work, we can enact positive change, reconceptualizing and revaluating of all aspects of artistic activity. I conclude this dissertation with a return to Cecilia Concha-Laborde's lyrics from "Aunque no me veas." In an optimistic post-pandemic and post-neoliberal society, creative, domestic, and otherwise invisible workers will omit Concha-Laborde's original lyrics of "although you cannot see me" and instead only state with conviction her preceding lyrics: "I am here!"

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